The Forum

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THE TRANS-MISSOURI DECISION.

"... the more things improve, the louder become the exclamations about their badness ... In proportion as the evil decreases, the denunciation of it increases; and as fast as natural causes are shown to be powerful there grows up the belief that they are powerless."

HERBERT SPENCER, in "A Plea for Liberty."

"Let the country make the railroads and the railroads will make the country." GEORGE STEPHENSON.

"All we ask is that it shall be a tribunal which is impartial and that is thoroughly informed." ROBERT STEPHENSON.

"I still cling to the simple faith that even in legislation it 's a good thing, before making laws, to know what you are making laws about."

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

THE recent Trans-Missouri decision of the Supreme Court, by a majority of one, held that the Anti-Trust Act of 1890, which declared illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, etc.," applied to a railway association contract; the language of the opinion being that

"... without proof of the allegation that the agreement was entered into for the purpose of restraining trade or commerce or for maintaining rates above what was reasonable ..."

"The necessary effect of the agreement is to restrain trade or commerce, no matter what the intent was on the part of those who signed it."

Of sixteen judges who passed upon some phases of this general

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issue, ten substantially sustained the railway's contention. That five of those sixteen were upon the Supreme Bench of course gave effect to its major opinion; but the narrow majority of that court and the large adverse number in the lower courts have justified the strong public interest and comment with which the decision has been received.

Aside from that view, the more than usually important legal questions involved in this judgment affect great issues and policies; and, so far as the railways are concerned, it will continue to be strongly questioned:—(a) Is the Anti-Trust law constitutional? (b) Did Congress intend it to apply to railways and does it so apply? (c) If it does embrace them, did the Court differentiate justly between reasonable and unreasonable restraints of trade? (d) Do railway agreements having similar purposes unreasonably restrain commerce? (e) If so, are not the things declared by the Anti-Trust law as misdemeanors, crimes which constitutionally entitle those accused to trial by jury?

However these contentions may be ultimately decided by the courts, legislative relief should and will be earnestly sought.

Section 5 of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 forbade the pooling of freights; and the pending judgment of the Supreme Court may forbid any other rate agreements. This will leave no recourse but individual railway action, which is always diverse and antagonistic. It is not the purpose to discuss now this estoppel of freedom of reasonable contract in a nation dedicated to liberty, nor the striking contrasts between the protection of reasonable railway rights in Europe and the lack of due legislative protection in America; but the comparison is naturally attracting American capital and that of other nations to the greater security which other and wiser countries offer. Nor is it my present intention to argue that our railways are entitled to greater protection than they have received because they represent the nation's greatest material, fiscal, and employing interests, charge the lowest rates, pay the highest wages, and receive smaller dividends than any other railways in the world, while receiving the least legislative consideration.

From the Granger cases of twenty or more years ago until now, various popular phrases have much influenced the public mind, such as: "Oppression and monopoly," "Clothed with a public interest," "Public policy," "To destroy competition," "Combinations of capital," "The rights of shippers"; and now the shibboleth is, "In restraint of trade."

When the railways have pleaded that these maxims convey mutual meanings and rights, and that transportation competition differs from

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mercantile rivalry, they have been confronted with definitions by legislatures and courts interpreting those watchwords to mean that the rights of the public to manage railway property should be enlarged while those of its owners should be lessened, until now, regardless of all former guises, the armies of socialism, re-inforced by the pending decision, are advancing these old banners toward dangerous business policies against which no changes of import tariffs or policy of finance can restore commercial confidence. Unrest, consequently, walks everywhere.

I therefore argue the public necessity and equity for legalized railway compacts; that they do not and will not unreasonably restrain trade or commerce; and that their intent is an important feature of their creation, in practice if not in law. The necessity for such associated railway action has been repeatedly endorsed by governmental witnesses.

The Cullom Report of 1886, said:—

"A basis of fixed rates would seem to depend upon a general predetermination of the rates to be established by the carriers interested. It seems necessary, therefore, to leave a way open by which such agreements can be made, in order to avoid the constant friction that would otherwise be occasioned."

Pursuant thereto, the Interstate Act, at the date of the Supreme Court decision, forbade the pooling of freights, but in Section 6 required,

"that every common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, shall print and keep open to public inspection schedules showing the rates and fares and charges for the transportation of passengers and property which any such common carrier has established," and that, "no advance shall be made in the rates, fares, and charges which have been established and published as aforesaid . . . except after ten days public notice." Also that ". . . reductions in such published rates, fares, or charges shall only be made after three (3) days public notice."

And penalties were provided for neglect or refusal to so publish rates, fares, and charges.

The same section further said:—

"It shall be unlawful . . . to charge, demand, collect, or receive from any person or persons *a greater or less* compensation . . . than is specified in such published schedule of rates, fares, and charges."

These provisions of law stood as governmental instructions directing the manner in which the railways should individually prepare, issue, and proclaim their freight and passenger charges. That they all published like rates was a further public advantage.

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The first Interstate Commerce Commission especially considered the relation of railway associations to itself; and, with the eminent constitutional lawyer, Hon. T. M. Cooley, at its head, that body said in its first annual report:—

"To make railroads of the greatest possible service to the country, *contract* relations will be essential, because there would need to be joint tariffs, joint running arrangements and interchange of cars. . . . some of which were obviously beyond the reach of compulsory legislation."

The same report said that: "Some regulations, in addition to those made by the law, are almost, if not altogether, indispensable. . . . An association of officers or agents is made the means of bringing about the desired unity of action."

These conclusions were based upon the proposition, apparent at the outset, that all traffic, whether large or small, passing between competitive points must be shared by two or more traders and by two or more carriers between such points.

Harmony in determining their transportation rates and relations is clearly preferable to strife: for, in whatever view considered, competition is made honorable; and the parity of rates required by the common law, by the statutory law, and by the interests of the public can be accomplished only by discussion, concession, and agreement between them. The law alone cannot achieve this result or defeat it; and the coöperation of the railways, after conferences with forwarders, has been found the only means by which this trade and transportation equality can be secured.

The practical application of the law and this status should be made clear. There are ten railway routes from Chicago to New York which may hold different views as to proper rates and classifications between these traffic centres. Before they can announce and publish equal rates they must harmonize those differences; otherwise, their charges would be different, discriminating, and chaotic, and would disturb trade as much as if the same differences existed on one route. The latter being forbidden by law, the former is at least commercially undesirable, even if legal. The same Chicago lines may also differ as to the rate relations of Chicago to Milwaukee, etc., on the north, and as to Peoria and St. Louis, on the south; and similarly those cities may differ with Chicago.

Unless, therefore, agreements are arrived at as to the proper rates at each point and the relative rates to and from adjacent cities, additional disasters to trade may, and restraint of trade will, result

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from such geographical dissensions, rates may become irregular and unprofitable, and some shippers and points will be preferred, to the detriment of others.

Merchants must also have foreknowledge upon which to base their trade calculations; otherwise, sales of grain, merchandise, etc., and the relations of the carrying rates to such transactions would be purely conjectural. Rates so individually made would surely prove discriminating; and petitions would promptly go to Congress to save trade from such disastrous favoritism. The railways must also predetermine what charges they will require forwarders and travellers to pay for transportation services; otherwise, not only will some shippers from the same points be put at a disadvantage with others, but the merchants of Chicago, for example, might be discriminated against by lower rates from St. Louis, which would control the eastward business of cities farther west.

Further geographical necessities arise. The relations of destinations to each other must be as clearly defined as the starting-points. Suppose, as an extreme example, that the shortest all-rail route from St. Louis to the seaboard being to Baltimore, that route fixed the export grain rates without relation to or regard for the routes or shippers from Chicago to New York or Boston, by which means the competitive grain traffic from beyond the Mississippi was controlled, great wrong would be wrought; and St. Louis and Baltimore would enjoy preferences which would ruin other merchants, cities, and districts. For this reason Section 3 of the Interstate Act declares it "unlawful for any common carrier . . . to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage" in favor of any "locality." But how can these parities be arrived at except by railway agreements?

Multiply these illustrations by the complications upon 180,000 miles of railway which, in 1895, moved 764,000,000 tons of freight and carried 544,000,000 passengers,—a large majority of each being competitive,—and the necessity for conference must be apparent.

Add the rivalries of oceans, lakes, rivers, canals, and the need to adapt railway rates to such competitions, and the mere mention of these complex conditions should show the necessity for conference, harmony, foreknowledge, and the due observance of equal and reasonable competitive rates, involving "agreements," "understandings," or "conferences."

Associations were organized, resting upon the good faith of the parties, to prevent discriminations to favored shippers and to establish

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not only common rates, but common classifications, rules, regulations, terminal charges, and fares in all the respects which constitute essential elements of carrying equality. They were also, of course, intended to avoid unwarranted depletions of the rates and fares to which the carriers are reasonably entitled.

Have such associations unreasonably restrained commerce? Each of the numberless seekers after drawbacks regards a refusal to concede the preference he solicits as a restraint upon *his* trade; but in no other sense can railway associations be so regarded, because their primary purpose is to abolish such preferences and to extend all fair trade. No railway company is so ignorantly managed as to contract or strive for the restraint of business. They labor in and out of season, by fair, and sometimes by questionable, means, to enlarge commerce, to better their own conditions and those of their patrons, and to improve their relations to the public as the quickest way to financial and traffic eminence. They have sought, and should seek in equity and law, to restrain those wrongful practices which are falsely denominated "competition," which proceed from strife, concealment, and favoritism, and to correct the endeavors of unscrupulous merchants to defeat the rates, classifications, and rules adopted for the common public and railway benefit. They have sought to enlarge rather than to restrain trade by increasing the proportions of traffic carried in through cars, which, being originally taken locally from point to point, encountered transfers, delays, different local rates, bills of lading, classifications, rules, and charges. They have greatly accelerated the movement of freight and passengers, made uniform through bills of lading and way-bills, issued through tickets and baggage checks, and established common inspections to ascertain that accurate weights were charged.

They have equalized and given to local stations rates corresponding with through points. They have adjusted differences with water routes. They have sought to harmonize rather than to destroy.

Between the Mississippi River and the seaboard, and north of the Ohio River there are approximately 10,000 points between which through rates and bills of lading are given. A majority of these places being actually or commercially competitive, the various railway interests convene and determine the due rate relations of each to the other. If each railway at each competitive point exercised an individual right to make its own arrangements regardless of the others, legalized commercial chaos would result. It is due to the railroads, and not to the law, that this anarchy of rates does not now prevail.

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They have therefore done more to remove trade restraints and enlarge and equalize internal and external commerce than all the other policies, laws, and agencies of the nation.

Such agreements upon railway rules and rates are therefore more essential to the public interest than are the uniform orders of the Secretary of the Treasury to the collectors of internal revenue and of customs at the different ports, or the instructions of the State Department to its consular agents.

The observance or enforcement of all law is aided, if not accomplished, by associations which coöperate with law. Witness the associations for the prevention of crime, the aid of charity, the diffusion of knowledge, etc. These reach many questions which the law cannot touch. The New York Chamber of Commerce is an influential instance.

It is more needful that railways should have associated relations than that great cities should have clearing-houses for their banks or stock exchanges, produce exchanges, and boards of trade, to establish standards of mercantile honor, quality of goods, and essential rules of purchase, sale, delivery, etc. They are as necessary in some form as that townships should be subordinate to the county, the counties to the State, and the States to the Federal Union. It is as desirable that the railways should be represented by clearly defined organizations and delegates to provide regulations, tariffs, etc., as it is that the House of Representatives should exist to define rules for the conduct of public business, and to fix and change import, export, and internal tariffs. The import tariff is not so important as railway tariffs, being less complex and affecting fewer nations and people; yet it requires months of conference and forbearance to arrive at any desired result. Can the railways with a larger issue do less?

When the Interstate Commerce law took effect there were over thirty freight classifications in vogue, which are now substantially reduced to four governing schedules.

The value of associations has also been shown in the compilation and issue of statistics. A prominent instance has recently transpired in the contention of the New York Produce Exchange that the differential rates to ports south of New York are unduly great. Certain data were called for in that case which could not have been submitted had not the associations kept them.

There were originally more than twenty corporations between Chicago and New York in the Lake Shore and New York Central route, each possessing (and still retaining) legal powers to charge rea-

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sonable local rates and impose local regulations. Conference and associations have unified these routes and rates more in the public interest than to the benefit of the railroads. They have provided for the more speedy transit and greater convenience of the carriage of express matter and the mails. They have equalized the localities on the Atlantic, and have harmonized the competitions of the Pacific-Coast points. They have endeavored to equalize routes of unequal facility by a regulated system of differential rates. They make bills of lading issued in Hong Kong redeemable in Bremen.

Associations are the most valuable adjuncts of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Without their aid the Commission cannot possibly solve its problems or accomplish its tasks: with their help it *may* do so. Were the public to choose wisely which to abandon, it had better dissolve the national Commission, because to wipe out all forms of voluntary railway organization—which, more than law, maintain necessary methods of trade—would be to throw the business of the country into a chaos from which the Interstate Commission itself could not evolve order. The advocates of the dismemberment of such associations know literally nothing of the great services they have rendered the public. It is also a delusion to suppose that they limit competition. True railway rivalries are more active under associations than without them, because they stop competition and substitute the higher rivalry of improved facilities and rebates. As well say that the Senate stops intellectual or local rivalry because it is a body representing competitive States.

The opinion of the minority of the Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri suit states this case clearly as follows: —

"That the interstate commerce rates, all of which are controlled by the provisions as to reasonableness, were not intended to fluctuate hourly and daily as competition might ebb and flow, results from the fact that the published rates could not either be increased or reduced except after a specified time. It follows then that agreements as to reasonable rates and against their secret reduction conform exactly to the terms of the act."

The following cogent reasoning was added:—

"Suppose three joint lines of railroads between Chicago and New York, each made up of many roads. How could a joint rate be agreed on by the roads composing one of these continuous lines, without an ascertainment of the rate existing on the other continuous line? What contract could be made with safety for transportation over one of the lines without taking into account the rate of all the others? There certainly could be no prevention of unjust discrimination as to the persons and places within a given territory unless the rates of all competing lines within the territory be considered and the sudden change of the published rates of all such lines be guarded against."

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The minority opinion used these words, italicized as quoted :—

"In view of these facts, when the Interstate act *expressly forbids contracts and combinations between railroads for pooling, and makes no mention of other contracts,* it is clear that the continued existence of such contracts was contemplated, and they are not intended to be forbidden by the act."

Those associations existed when the Anti-Trust law of 1890 was passed and were not prohibited by it.

The opinion further says :—

"It is . . . therefore not to be denied that the agreement between carriers, the validity of which is here drawn in question, seeking to secure uniform classification and to prevent the undercutting of the published rates, even though such agreements be made with competing as well as joint lines, is in accord with the plain text of the Interstate Commerce act. . .

The judicial declaration, that carriers cannot agree among themselves for the purpose of aiding in the enforcement of the provisions of the Interstate Commerce law, will strike a blow at the beneficial results of that act, and will have a direct tendency to produce the preferences and discriminations which it was one of the main objects of the act to frustrate. The great complexity of the subject, the numerous interests concerned in it, the vast area over which it operates, present difficulties enough without . . . it being advisable to add to them by holding that a contract which is supported by the text of the law is invalid, because, although it is reasonable and just, it must be considered as in restraint of trade."

The Second Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission took the ground that traffic associations were not merely permissible, but desirable. It said :—

"While the Commission is not at this time prepared to recommend general legislation toward the establishment or promotion of relations between the carriers that shall better subserve the public interest than those which are now common, it must nevertheless look forward to the possibility of something of that nature becoming at some time imperative. . . . Without legislation to favor it, little can be done beyond the formation of consulting and advisory associations."

A careful study of public comments upon the recent decision fails to show that any public or trade body has approved the application of the Anti-Trust law to railroads. It is also a marked feature of the discussion that the actual users of the railways do not demur to the rates now in force nor to the rules or regulations applying thereto which are condemned by the decision.

In contemplating the alternative which will be forced upon the railway companies if the Supreme Court decision be maintained, it is proper to say that while pooling has been commended and resorted to

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abroad, was recommended by the Cullom committee, and has been endorsed by the most eminent railway experts of this and other countries, it remains forbidden here by law. If it continue forbidden, and the railways are to be interdicted from forming traffic associations, what remains for railways and public protection, in their mutual relations? If the railway companies may not meet and agree upon mutual rates, fares, rules, conditions, classifications, tickets, liabilities for persons and property, excursion rates for great public occasions, times of trains, etc., in what condition are they and the public to be left? The resultant differences of condition would introduce more uncertainties into all commercial conditions, would lead to more preferences and discriminations, and constitute a greater restraint of trade than if competitive lines agreed to and published common rates, fares, and rules. Forwarders and receivers and travellers engaged in actual contact with this problem all know that practical freedom of trade is not to be obtained by its legal restriction, and that the liberty of reasonable contract, which has, from time immemorial, justified proper agreements, has secured that parity of railway conditions which is the first essential of freedom of trade, the removal of restraint, and the stoppage of favoritism.

The case may therefore be briefly stated to be, that the majority in interest of mileage, earnings, dividends, and tonnage should control and determine reasonable rates and fares. The recent decision exactly reverses this sound principle, and gives to one and the weakest line, whether in facilities or morals, not only the power which it might formerly assert, but now the apparent legal right and duty to determine its rates and therefore the rates for all other shippers and railways between the points whereat such line competes. For no one will pay more than the lowest rates. There is no corresponding instance of the power of a minority in any trade or commercial exchange of the world; and any legal decision under which one company may thus fix the charges for all others, introduces elements of uncertainty, speculation, and danger to which the public attention cannot be too frequently attracted, and for which a legislative remedy cannot be too persistently demanded, or speedily granted.

Judge Cooley in his address to the National Convention of State Railway Commissioners at Washington, March, 1891, said:—

"**. . . one of the most important things to be accomplished in the regulation of railroads is to secure steadiness of rates . . . . I mean the sort of steadiness that makes changes only in the proper direction and when it does make them does**

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so deliberately, carefully, after consideration of all the interests involved, and after such reasonable notice to the public as well as to the railroad interests as will enable due provision to be made by others to prevent heedless loss and injury therefrom."

He also said, in an article entitled "Legal View of Pooling," January, 1887: "It will be as wise for the State to encourage and protect whatever in corporate arrangements is of beneficial tendency as it will to suppress what is mischievous."

Everything which is right is assailed by something which is wrong. The maintenance of a right, therefore, always involves the restraint of a wrong; but when, as in the Supreme Court decision, the reasonable rights of carriers are restrained and the wrongs of discrimination encouraged under the cloak of individual action, a reversal of equity and legal precedents is exhibited which merits the searching public review it is now receiving.

Charges of trade restraint against associations which do not restrain but extend traffic; allegations that they discriminate, when they are formed to stop discrimination; transportation agreements adjudged, without proofs, to be entered into to increase rates, whereas they constantly reduce them; assertions that railway organizations oppress producers, when they really extend the markets for their products; and unsupported assertions of detriment to trade which are promptly disproved by evidence of benefits,—these are some of the paradoxes of unintelligent arguments against American railways, which legislatures, trade bodies, and courts have too long heeded and which they should now analyze and dismiss.

GEO. R. BLANCHARD.

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A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

A DESPOTISM in a modern republic is surely a great novelty; and yet we have had recently in several States something which closely resembles this. In defining the three chief forms of government, Montesquieu says:—

> "The republican is that in which the people in a body, or only a part of the people, exercise sovereign power; the monarchic is that in which a single man governs, but according to fixed and established laws; while in the despotic one man, without law or rule, controls everything by his will and caprice."

It would be difficult to formulate a more accurate description of modern "Boss" government than this third definition supplies, as that government has been administered by Mr. Platt in New York, Mr. Quay in Pennsylvania, Mr. Gorman in Maryland, and Mr. Cox in Ohio. None of these has had any law or rule to control his conduct other than his own will and caprice. Each has obtained his power by securing control of the nominating machinery of his party, by methods which I shall examine fully later; and each has used it to concentrate in himself the chief functions of the government of the State. Mr. Platt has done this to a greater extent than any other of our bosses, past or present, and has brought the new system to such a high state of perfection that his case is worthy of full and thoughtful consideration.

The foundation of the Platt despotism was laid in the winter of 1894, when the Republican party came into control of both branches of the State Legislature. He assumed direction of the Legislature; and before the session closed it had become customary for the party leaders in the two Houses to go to New York city at the end of each week to consult with him as to the conduct of public business. In the following winter, the Governorship also came under Republican control; and then Mr. Platt openly assumed autocratic or despotic powers. He selected the officers for the two Houses of the Legislature, and dictated the arrangement of the committees. Every Saturday and Sunday the leaders of the two Houses repaired to New York city where, with trusted local Republican politicians, they met Mr. Platt in his business office, or hotel rooms, and decided upon the legislative proceedings for

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the following week. Appointments for office were also discussed and settled there. In scarcely an important instance did the Legislature fail to obey the orders which reached it from Mr. Platt during this session. Some of his plans were thwarted by the refusal of the Governor to give his consent to them; but these were usually cases of minor importance, and did not weaken Mr. Platt's power.

Much the same condition of things continued through the session of 1896. It was during this session that Mr. Platt took the first step in what has since become his most striking exhibition of despotic power. He had the Legislature pass a bill creating a commission to draft a charter for the proposed city of Greater New York. Under the constitutional requirement this bill was submitted to the mayors of New York and Brooklyn for approval: it was disapproved by both. In withholding their approval, the mayors gave official voice to the public sentiment of their communities; for the provisions of the bill had excited strong opposition in all intelligent quarters in the two cities. Yet when the measure was returned to Albany, it was again passed by both Houses, under orders from Mr. Platt. It was at this time that the phrase "jam it through" made its first appearance. The meaning of it was that the orders of the boss must be obeyed by his followers, in spite of all opposition or criticism. The bill, after its second passage, went to the Governor; and he made it a law with his signature. It was a personal triumph for Mr. Platt: for public sentiment was strongly against the bill; and there was nothing of real weight in its support except his orders to "jam it through." Without those orders it would not have passed either House a second time. This was a notable act of absolute despotism. There were many others to follow.

The overshadowing importance of the Presidential campaign was of incalculable value to Mr. Platt in the election of 1896. It enabled him to lay his plans free from scrutiny or even observation; and the national alarm which carried the State of New York for McKinley by 268,000 plurality swept Platt into power again more firmly than ever. It was not until it began to be said that he would be chosen to the United States Senate by the new Legislature that people realized what had happened. Discussion soon revealed the fact that the Republican majority, comprising 150 of the 200 Members in both Houses, were as irrevocably pledged to him as if they had been his personal property. It mattered not in the least that there was no popular support whatever for his candidacy. It mattered not in the least that he had no qualifications for the place. These considerations did not enter into

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the question at all. The Members of the Legislature had promised him that they would do his will in all matters; and his will was that they should elect him to the United States Senate. His comment on his election was: "Well, I got there." And yet the intelligence and morality of his party, as well as of the people generally, were solidly arrayed against him; and a candidate of preëminent fitness was put forward by the Republicans in opposition to him. This candidate, after a vigorous campaign had been made in his behalf, received seven votes in the Republican caucus, and not a single vote in the election itself; the entire Republican majority voting for Mr. Platt.

The Legislature which performed this act was, of course, organized as usual by Mr. Platt himself. He did the work even more openly than before; having the Members meet him in New York city, and arranging all matters there. He held his weekly conferences as usual, and gave out their results without reservation to the newspapers; thus admitting that the real work of government was carried on in his room rather than at Albany. This became strikingly apparent after Mr. Platt took his seat as United States Senator on March 4. He left Washington at the close of each week, going to New York city for the express purpose of holding his Sunday conference or governmental council with his legislative and other agents. This conference had all the authority of a cabinet council; and at its close its decisions were given to the reporters as constituting the legislative programme for the ensuing week.

The most impressive demonstration of the despotic power behind these decisions was made in connection with the proposed charter for Greater New York. This had been drawn by the commission created by the act of 1896. It had been prepared in secret, and only very inadequate opportunity had been given for public inspection of it before it was sent to the Legislature; yet, in the brief time afforded, it had been condemned in very strong terms by what I may truthfully call the organized and individual intelligence of the community. The Bar Association, through a committee which contained several of the leading lawyers of the city, subjected it to expert legal examination, and declared it to be so full of defects and confusing provisions as to be "deplorable," and to give rise, if made law, "to mischiefs far outweighing any benefits which might reasonably be expected to flow from it." The Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Clearing House Association, the City Club, the Union League Club, the Reform Club, the Real Estate Exchange, all the reputable ex-mayors, and other

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officials expressed equally strong condemnation, especially of certain leading provisions of the instrument; and the Legislature was formally requested to give more time to the subject by postponing the date on which the charter should become operative. Not the slightest attention was paid at Albany to any of these requests. The Bar Association's objections were passed over in silence, as indeed were all the protests. The charter, excepting a few trifling changes, was passed without amendment by both Houses of the Legislature by an overwhelming vote. Only 6 of the 114 Republican Members voted against it in the Assembly; and only 1 of the 36 Republican Members in the Senate. There was no debate upon it in the Assembly. The men who voted for the charter said not a word in its favor, and not a word in explanation of their course in voting against all proposals to amend it. In the Senate the charter's chief advocates declared frankly their belief that it was a measure of "political suicide," since it was certain to put the proposed enlarged city into the hands of their opponents, the Democrats; yet they all voted for it because it had been made a party measure, that is, the despot had said it must pass. After its first passage it was sent, for public hearings and approval, to the mayors of the three cities affected by its provisions. The opposition developed at the hearings in New York city was very impressive—so much so that Mayor Strong, who as an *ex-officio* member of the charter commission had signed the report which had accompanied it when it went to the Legislature, was moved by a "strong sense of public duty" to veto it because of "serious and fundamental defects." When the charter, with his veto message, arrived in Albany, the two Houses passed it again by virtually the same vote as at first, and without either reading the Mayor's message, or more than barely mentioning his name. One of the Members who voted for it said privately:—"If it were not for the fact that the 'old man' wants it, I doubt if the charter would get a dozen votes in the Legislature outside the Brooklyn and Long-Island members."

I have gone into this charter episode somewhat in detail because it presents the most extreme illustration of the new form of government thus far afforded. A more complete defiance of the right of the people to a voice in the conduct of their public affairs could scarcely be made. A system of government which they had objected to because it flew directly in the face of all experience,—its leading provisions embodying methods of administration which had been tried and abandoned as pernicious, and which no great city in the world employs to-

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day,—was thrust upon them in contemptuous disregard of their wishes. No reason was given for this course except that Mr. Platt desired it. His "will and caprice" were supreme in the matter. The desires of three millions of people, expressed through their most truly representative men and organizations, counted as nothing with the Legislature.

Before passing to a consideration of the source of this despotic power, I wish to dwell for a moment upon a very striking feature of this new form of government. Its supreme acts are almost invariably performed in silence. Its motto in such cases is, "Vote and don't talk." When Mr. Platt was nominated in the Republican caucus for United States Senator, not a word was said in his commendation by his advocates. He was simply put in nomination; and the votes were cast for him in silence. When he was elected by the two Houses of the Legislature, the same silence was maintained. I think this was entirely without precedent in such cases. There was the same silence when the New York charter passed the Assembly, and only a partial break in it when the Senate voted on the same measure. A like phase, which is also new, is seen in the treatment which is given to hostile criticism, either of men or measures. This is simply ignored. It is not even mentioned. Formerly, when a candidate for office was shown to have a damaging record, it was thought necessary to defend him. Under the new method of government, he is "jammed" into the place in silence. Formerly when a legislative measure was attacked, and alleged defects in it were pointed out, its advocates met the objections in the best way they could. Under the new method, the measure is "jammed through" in silence. Popular will, public opinion in any form, are treated as of too little account to be even noticed. The will of the despot is supreme; and the people, in the language of the politician, are "not in it."

Upon what does this power rest? How does it come about that the Legislature regards itself as the representative of Mr. Platt rather than of the people? There is no longer any mystery about this. The power rests upon money, raised as "campaign contributions" from both individuals and corporations, but mainly from corporations. The system by which this is made to give one man control of the government was originated by Richard Croker in 1893, when he was boss of Tammany Hall. Previous to his advent, campaign contributions were made to the chairmen of political committees. They were given for no specific purpose except to gain the general good-will of the organizations. When the party boss appeared and began to dominate everyone else in the party, the practice of paying the money to him followed naturally. At the same

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time the money became something more than a campaign contribution. The contributors, if they were corporations, had been in the habit of sending to Albany each year both special agents and money to be used in defeating hostile legislation or "strikes." Lawyers had to be retained to appear before committees and make arguments against such measures; and when this method of opposition failed to be effective, lobbyists had to be retained to employ other means. All this was very expensive. The boss, in control of both Houses of the Legislature, stepped in with the proposition that a lump sum be given to him each year, and that he, in consideration of this payment, should guarantee complete protection from hostile legislative action. Mr. Croker is believed to have laid the foundation of a very handsome fortune through this invention. In his time, all corporations ceased to send their attorneys to Albany, the business of individual lobbyists was nearly or quite ruined, and his discipline was so strict that no Member of the majority in either House would venture even to introduce a bill which was hostile to the wishes of a contributing corporation. When the Republicans supplanted the Democrats in power, Mr. Platt adopted Mr. Croker's system as his own, and extended it over the entire State.

I will cite some of the most outspoken definitions of this system which have been made in the recent past, and which, though widely published, have never been contradicted. Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham, one of the ablest and most honored members of the New York bar, declared in a public speech, in March, 1894, that the payment of money to the boss by corporations, as the "price of peace," was general; naming one corporation which he said he knew paid $50,000 yearly, and adding that he had knowledge of a second which paid a similar amount. Mr. Henry O. Havemeyer, president of the sugar trust, testified before the Senate Investigating Committee at Washington, in June, 1894, that the trust made campaign contributions each year to New York political organizations, adding: "Every individual and corporation and firm—trust, or whatever you call it—does these things." Mr. E. C. Benedict, a director in many corporations, said, in a published interview, in December last:—

"The government of this State is in the hands of three houses; and the third house does business on the principle of 'stand and deliver.' That 's the way the Legislature treats corporations. I am mentioning no names; but I will say that the present ruler is as much more expensive than the former one of a different political stripe, as an educated, high-priced man is than an ignorant and low-priced one."

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Mr. W. D. Guthrie, a reputable and able member of the New York bar, said, in a speech in Carnegie Hall, New York, on December 23, 1896:—

"Since the days of Tweed, a new system of political corruption has come into existence. The individual legislator is now seldom directly bribed. Corporations or individuals seeking protection or valuable charter rights at the hands of the Legislature retain a recognized political boss, and pay him for the service to be rendered. This secures the desired favor. They pretend that these payments are contributions to the party; but as a matter of fact they are tributes to the fund of the boss, who turns over to the national, State, or county committee as much of the spoil as he sees fit, distributing most of it for the purpose of electing to the Legislature his own nominees. In form it is a contribution to the party: in substance and truth it is bribery and blackmail. Most of these contributions are made by corporations. The items are entered on their books under fictitious sundry accounts and hidden from public investigation."

It is admitted by Mr. Platt's friends that he raises money in this way, and takes "contributions" in return for legislative protection and other favors to come; and the only excuse made for his conduct in so doing is that he uses the money for his party and not for his personal enrichment. Just how this, if true, makes his conduct any less reprehensible, I am unable to see. Why it should be accounted a virtue to refrain from self-corruption while corrupting the politics of an entire State, is something which passes my comprehension. But these are points upon which I do not wish to dwell now. It being conceded that Mr. Platt collects contributions, let us see how he uses them to give him his power. On this point some recent testimony by his fellow-boss, Mr. Quay of Pennsylvania, is very illuminating. Mr. Quay, let me say parenthetically, is almost as despotic a boss as Mr. Platt, and is scarcely less open in his methods. He controls the Legislature of his State in nearly all important political matters, and at times, though not regularly, goes from Washington to Harrisburg and openly directs its operations. He dictates all nominations, including those for United States Senator; and his candidates are almost invariably successful. In December of last year he had a controversy with the Republican Business Men's League of Philadelphia in reference to the new Senator from Pennsylvania; and in the course of it a letter was published which showed how it came about that Mr. Quay was master of the Republican majority in the Legislature. The author of the letter was the chairman of the Republican State Committee; and it was a sample of a number which he had sent to many candidates for the Legislature a few months earlier. It ran: "By

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request of Senator Quay I take great pleasure in enclosing contribution to defray your campaign expenses." Each letter contained a check for $500 in the case of a Senatorial candidate, and in the case of a candidate for the lower House one for $250. That is the system in all its simplicity. The boss supplies candidates with the money necessary for them to get the nominations in the primaries and to pay their campaign expenses afterward; and he supplies it always with the understanding that he shall own the candidate after election. "I would like to vote for Mr. Choate for Senator," said a New York legislator last winter, "but I am not quite sure but that something which was said when I went to see Platt last fall binds me to vote for him." There is always "something said"; and, in addition to this obligation to the boss, there is the absolute certainty that, if the boss be not obeyed in all things, there will be no campaign contribution next time and no reëlection. The same power which has lifted the legislator into political life can drive him out of it whenever he ceases to give satisfaction.

The results of this control of the nominating machinery are wholly bad. From the nature of the case, it fills the public offices with unfit men, since no man of character will consent to enter public life under such conditions. In the great majority of instances the men selected by the boss for legislative candidates are persons who have either failed in life, or never tried to succeed. Either they have never followed a regular calling, or have tried one calling after another without success. Some of them are in debt, many of them would like to be, and all of them find themselves getting a living more easily than ever before. They feel deeply grateful to the man who has lifted them into this happy condition, and are naturally desirous of prolonging it. They know that their fitness for public office had nothing whatever to do with their selection; and they know that a demonstration of fitness would be fatal to their continuance in office. They, therefore, follow the orders of their political creator blindly and even joyfully, and in complete disregard of the people, who really had nothing to do with their promotion to office, and will have no deciding voice in their continuance in it. Their only guide to conduct is, "What does the old man want?" This is not a fictitious phrase, but one that is heard daily at Albany during a session of the Legislature. Platt is universally spoken of among his followers as the "old man"; and the fate of every party measure is decided by the knowledge of what he wants done with it.

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Of course the more absolute the boss's control of the Legislature, the greater his capacity for collecting contributions from the corporations. The natural instinct of legislators who have never possessed any property is to get at people who possess a good deal and make them give up some of it. Left to themselves, a boss-nominated body of lawmakers would give themselves up mainly to "strike" legislation. The worse they are, the larger the basis upon which the boss can rest his demand for "contributions," because of the difficulty he will have in restraining so hungry and reckless a body. All this works together for good to the boss and his followers. The more he gets, the larger are their individual shares. If a corporation be backward about giving, a bill threatening its business by cutting down its profits has only to appear in the Legislature to bring it to terms. When it is considered that there are in the city of New York more than 2,000 corporations, all subject to legislative interference, and with an aggregate capital of nearly two billions of dollars, it is easy to see how a boss can raise a campaign fund of sufficient size to pay the expenses of a very large number of candidates. He need not and does not stop with legislative candidates, but extends aid to all candidates for State offices and for Congress; demanding and obtaining from each the same understanding as to conduct in office that he obtains from legislative nominees. His control of the nominating machinery makes him absolute master of State conventions; and no man can become a nominee for Governor or other State office except with his consent. Mr. Platt's power is more absolute than that of any other boss, because of the vastly greater invested wealth upon which he is able to make his levies. New York is the centre of the corporate wealth of the land; and, as a field for a despot of his type, it has no equal. Other bosses do the best they can with the resources at their command; for all of them have large cities within their domains, and all work by similar methods, laying the foundations of their power in the primaries and nominating conventions.

The bosses have, in fact, taken the control of the nominating machinery of politics away from the people. We had a striking illustration of this on a large scale in 1896. Mr. Hanna, in behalf of Mr. McKinley, went into the primaries of one State after another, and secured from them delegates to the National Republican Convention who, when chosen, were pledged to vote for Mr. McKinley as the nominee for the Presidency. There was little concealment about this proceeding. As fast as delegates were obtained in this manner the result was an-

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nounced in the press. Weeks in advance of the meeting of the Convention, Mr. Hanna's assistants published lists of delegates showing a majority of the Convention in favor of Mr. McKinley. This pre-convention campaign had been conducted on the presumption that the tariff was to be the leading issue of the forthcoming Presidential campaign; and Mr. McKinley's nomination was prearranged on that basis. By the time the Convention had assembled, the tariff had been completely overshadowed by the currency issue, which had assumed momentous importance; but, although Mr. McKinley's record upon this question was far from satisfactory, and a large proportion of his party desired the nomination of some man whose candidacy would give stronger assurance of currency reform after election, it was found impossible to break the ranks of his pledged delegates. His nomination had been settled in the primaries in much the same way as the State bosses secure their Members of the Legislature. Debts were incurred, which were paid off in various ways after Mr. McKinley became President. Appointments to office were made which were explicable only on this basis; and in many instances there was little attempt to conceal the nature of the transaction. But the greatest debt of all was paid in a new tariff bill which had no other excuse for existence. The country had been carried for McKinley through a national alarm about its honor and credit, which had brought to his support, on the common platform of sound money, men of all political beliefs. He was elected on the issue of sound money and currency reform, not on that of a high tariff. Yet, as soon as he entered upon his duties, he called Congress together in extra session, and sent to it a Message which called for the enactment of a new tariff, and made no mention of currency reform. The tariff bill, which had already been prepared, was not a measure for raising revenue, but for increasing the burdens of taxation in the interest of protected manufacturers. Like the McKinley tariff of 1890, it had to be enacted to pay campaign debts,—in this instance, debts which had been incurred in depriving the people of their control of the nominating system.

It comes to the same thing in national and State applications of this new system of government; namely, that the people must pay the price of its operation. They pay in the misuse of their public offices, in the increased burdens which come from unwise and extravagant legislation and from unjust and unnecessary taxation. They will pay later, also, in the consequences which will flow from the exercise of the functions of government by men who obtain and maintain their

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power by means of money collected from great corporations. Not only have the people lost control of the nominating machinery, but they are no longer represented by their legislators. Most of these sit and act in the halls of legislation not as the servants of the people, but as the servants of the boss, who in turn serves the corporations. In what boss-controlled legislature of to-day can a hearing be secured for a grievance, no matter how just, against a corporation that has made a "contribution"? Could there be a more dangerous proceeding than this—a surer way in which to stimulate socialistic and populistic hatred of corporations, trusts, and all forms of aggregated wealth? In making the boss a despot, by supplying him with the force upon which his power rests, are not his contributors sowing the wind for a whirlwind the devastating possibilities of which no man can foresee?

What are the remedies for this loss of the nominating machinery? The old one, that good men must go into the primaries, should be abandoned as hopeless, so far at least as the larger cities are concerned. The good men will not go, because they have learned from experience the uselessness of doing so. This fact has been too well established to be either disputed or disregarded longer. I have very little faith in laws for the reformation of primaries, for punishing illegal voting and other irregularities in them. The best and most rigorous laws will not secure good nominations from primaries controlled by men who do not desire good government. It is idle to expect that men who spend their time and energies in getting possession of the primaries will use them to bring forth the kind of nominations which are displeasing to themselves. If they could not make them produce the nominations which please them, they would abandon them at once. They have only one restraining influence; and that is—not to make their nominations so bad that there will be no hope of success with them at the polls. It is in the power of the advocates of good government to magnify this influence in such a way as to improve greatly the character of party nominees. Let all idea of "going into the primaries" be abandoned. There is nothing sacred about the primary. It is a modern invention, unknown to the founders of our government. It has become an engine of corruption and evil, and should be either neutralized or destroyed.

Under the Australian ballot laws, which are in force in nearly all our States, a complete weapon against the primary is supplied in the privilege to nominate by petition. This gives small bodies of citizens in every voting district in the land the power to hold a threat over

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every regular party primary. If a bad nomination be made in a primary, let its character be fully revealed, and let it be opposed at once by a good nomination on petition. Very little machinery is necessary for this. The main thing is the public interest and patriotic spirit which are necessary for any action to promote good government. If we have not these, it will be useless to hope for good results from any kind of remedy. What too many of us have been looking for is the discovery of a sovereign remedy for the cure of ills which result from neglect of the duties of citizenship. We must get it into our heads that there is no such remedy. The advocates and operators of bad government work unceasingly. They cannot be prevented from accomplishing their purposes except by equal industry and perseverance on the part of their opponents. Abusing them for their unpatriotic conduct, seeking to restrain them by laws,—these will accomplish little. They will not use the power which they work and struggle to possess in such a way as to suit us, but in such a way as to suit themselves. That is what they want it for. If we want it for other purposes, we must work harder than they do, and get it away from them. We must organize, and be ready at all times to work for what we want. There should be in every voting district an enrolled list of all voters interested in good government. With this ready at hand, a nomination by petition would be a very easy matter. Organization of this most desirable kind has been made in Chicago by the Municipal Voters' League, and is now under way in New York by the Citizens' Union. The Chicago League—which investigates the records of all candidates, and publishes the facts about them—previously to the recent election, condemned twenty-eight out of thirty-four aldermen as unfit for reëlection; and all but two of these were defeated, most of them for renomination, and the rest at the polls.

Undoubtedly a great deal can be done to break down the power of the bosses by stringent corrupt-practice laws requiring sworn publicity of all receipts and expenditures by both candidates and committees. The boss-controlled Legislature of New York has shown its fear of such laws by refusing on several occasions to allow the present inadequate law in that State to be amended in such a way as to include committees as well as candidates in the requirement of sworn publication, and in refusing also to allow any other change to be made in the law which might force into daylight the uses made of corporation money. With a rigorous law compelling full publicity, and with another law making the payment of money for campaign purposes by a corporation a penal offence, a second field of usefulness would be

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opened to the organized advocates of honest government. They could make it their duty to secure the enforcement of these laws. The reason why the corrupt-practice laws which we have in fifteen of our States have not been more successful lies in the absence of active public sentiment in their support. It is made nobody's business to enforce them; and they are consequently violated with impunity. With an organized body of vigilant, determined citizens in every district, these laws would soon become a tremendous power for good government. A few applications of their penalties would put an end to the greater part of existing corruption. The secret ballot has driven corruption away from the polls into the primaries and nominating conventions. Corrupt-practice laws, rigorously enforced, will drive it out of this branch of our political system also; but the purification can be accomplished only by hard and persistent work.

This is the beginning and end of the whole matter. If we want honest government, honest men must combine and work to get it. They must do this not in one election, but in every election. The bosses have taken possession of our nominating system, and through it have established their despotisms, because of the neglect of the duties of citizenship by the great mass of the people. These despotisms will continue just as long as this neglect continues. Railing at them, feeling ashamed of them, getting despondent about the future of popular government because of them, will not disturb them a particle. If we are too busy, or too indifferent, or too lazy, or too unpatriotic to attend to the business of government ourselves, the bosses will attend to it for us in their own way, and be mighty glad of the opportunity. The responsibility for it and the shame of it rest not upon them, but upon us. When the burden becomes intolerable, there will be an "uprising of the people in their might and majesty"; and the bosses, together with their system, will be swept away. When this upheaval will come, no man can say; but one would think that it must be at hand. Schopenhauer, in his essay on "Government," quotes Stobæus, a Greek writer of the fifth century, as mentioning a Persian custom by which, whenever a king died, there were five days of anarchy, in order that the people might perceive the advantage of having kings and laws. It may be that an inscrutable Providence is subjecting us to a period of boss despotism in order that we may perceive the advantage of popular government and may exert ourselves sufficiently to bring about its restoration.

JOSEPH B. BISHOP.

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THE FUTILITY OF THE SPELLING GRIND.—II.

THE results of my spelling-tests, representing the work of 33,000 children, published in THE FORUM for April, showed what our teachers had been able to accomplish, and, consequently, what standards in this subject we were justified in establishing. Thus far, the feasibility of establishing definite standards has been denied, on the ground that the influence of instruction is so profoundly modified by conditions inherent in the pupils that the results obtained in one classroom would not necessarily indicate what we had a right to expect in another. In the present article, however, I shall endeavor to prove, by an analysis of the factors involved, that, so far as spelling is concerned, the results are not dependent on conditions over which the teacher has no control, but that, whether satisfactory or unsatisfactory, the causes may be found on the side of instruction. When my analysis is completed, I shall present an outline of what my investigations have led me to regard as the most rational plan of treating the subject.

In presenting my data, I shall first direct attention individually to the factors brought into play by the pupils, viz., age, nationality, heredity, and environment, and show how the mysteries are dissipated when the first ray of light is thrown upon them. The elements involved in instruction will then be considered in the same manner.

If the ability to spell were influenced by age, the results, naturally, would be in favor of the older pupils. That the averages received by these were not higher than those obtained by the younger ones, however, is proved by the figures presented in Table No. 1. These figures show, on the contrary, that in the majority of instances the results were in favor of the younger pupils. This may be accounted for by the fact that the younger children in a class are frequently the brighter and the more mature, having overtaken the older pupils by reason of these characteristics. Moreover, that the best spellers are to be found, as a rule, among the brightest pupils, is shown by Table No. 2, which indicates the influence of intellect on spelling. As the task of computing the results by ages, intellect, and so on from the papers of individual children was found to be very laborious, only a portion of the papers received were so utilized.

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TABLE No. 1.

	City.	FOURTH YEAR. Age.	No. of Pupils.	Genl. Average.	FIFTH YEAR. Age.	No. of Pupils.	Genl. Average.	SIXTH YEAR. Age.	No. of Pupils.	Genl. Average.	SEVENTH YEAR. Age.	No. of Pupils.	Genl. Average.	EIGHTH YEAR. Age.	No. of Pupils.	Genl. Average.
COLUMN-TEST.	1	9–11	131	72.5	9–12	107	78.	9–13	72	85.9	9–14	88	88.5	12–14	24	94.4
	"	12–15	78	67.4	13–17	69	75.9	14–17	56	84.9	15–17	38	86.6	15–18	60	93.5
	2	9–12	167	51.5	10–12	136	71.	11–13	137	77.	11–13	82	86.5	12–14	76	90.9
	"	13–16	16	55.1	13–15	57	59.9	14–17	63	74.1	14–16	105	83.1	15–19	111	86.6
	11	9–11	111	56.1	10–12	61	70.1	10–13	112	75.1	11–14	77	83.2	13–15	37	90.5
	"	12–15	104	48.1	13–16	91	63.5	14–17	74	78.3	15–18	63	84.	16–18	13	91.7
SENTENCE-TEST.	1	9–11	72	69.5	10–12	56	81.6	12–13	22	79.9	12–14	43	76.7	12–14	35	86.9
	"	12–15	39	59.1	13–15	38	78.8	14–16	10	68.3	15–17	21	77.8	15–17	52	84.9
	*7	8–10	47	68.9	10–12	56	81.4	12–13	22	79.2	12–14	43	76.6	12–14	35	87.2
	"	11–13	27	59.	13–15	38	78.9	14–16	10	68.3	15–17	21	77.8	15–17	52	84.8
	†9	9–11	55	70.2	10–12	38	75.5	11–13	38	73.1	12–14	44	86.2			
	"	12–15	51	64.7	13–15	45	76.2	14–16	55	74.7	15–17	32	86.5			

*School A. †School B.

TABLE No. 2.

No. of Cities.	Grade.	No. of Classes.	No. Pupils Intellect 1.	Average.	No. Pupils Intellect 2.	Average.	No. Pupils Intellect 3.	Average.	No. Pupils Intellect 4.	Average.
3	4	16	112	78.7	169	70.5	152	58.8	54	52.1
3	5	16	117	86.	239	77.7	166	71.1	59	61.6
3	6	23	164	88.7	263	84.3	182	78.	69	73.7
3	7	19	116	93.4	216	88.3	155	77.5	59	79.2
2	8	8	56	94.	99	89.3	97	87.8	20	81.5

TABLE No. 3.

	GRADE.	No. of Cities.	No. of Classes.	No. of Pupils.	General Average.	Children of Foreign Parentage.	Average.	No. of Children hearing Foreign Language at home	Average.	Children of Unskilled Laborers.	Average.
COLUMN-TEST.	Fourth.....	21	119	3700	53.5	1051	52.	815	52.	670	53.2
	Fifth.....	21	126	3560	64.3	1126	66.3	814	65.1	619	64.2
	Sixth.....	21	122	3594	75.6	1032	74.9	790	74.1	584	74.3
	Seventh.....	21	109	3107	81.	914	81.6	621	80.9	361	79.
	Eighth	21	71	2088	84.2	608	85.3	345	85.9	204	82.
SENTENCE-TEST.	Fourth	4	27	821	64.7	155	65.2	159	64.9	129	62.5
	Fifth.....	4	29	829	76.	153	77.4	157	76.7	129	74.5
	Sixth.....	4	22	778	69.7	185	69.6	165	70.3	119	70.4
	Seventh	4	18	566	78.8	81	82.5	52	81.5	55	76.8
	Eighth.....	4	19	528	83.1	72	83.2	64	83.2	76	85.

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As in the preceding article, the cities are indicated in the tables by numbers, and the individual schools by letters. The first test, it will be recalled, consisted of a column of fifty words, and the second, of sentences; fifty test-words being employed in the fourth- and fifth-, and seventy-five in the sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-year classes. The third test, spelling in compositions, will not be considered here. In Table No. 2, which shows the influence of intellect on spelling, "Intellect 1" indicates the brightest, and "Intellect 4," the dullest pupils. The difference in favor of the brightest pupils, when compared with the dullest, is very striking. The lesson to be learned from Table No. 2 is, that an unusually high or low class-average may now and then be accounted for by an exceptionally bright or dull set of pupils. Occasionally, therefore, the teacher may be allowed to plead "dull pupils" as an excuse for poor results. While this might offer a loop-hole for an incompetent teacher, the danger of being misled by such a plea is not great, because, in most instances, the teacher's statement can be verified by reference to the principal. Teachers habitually cursed with dull pupils cannot be placed too soon on the retired list. If the results throughout a building should be unsatisfactory, to plead "dull pupils" would of course be ridiculous.

Next, a comparison of the results obtained by children representing the foreign element with those secured by the American element (Table No. 3) shows that the influence of nationality on spelling is nil. Indeed, the percentages, if not identical, are slightly in favor of the foreign element. These figures, computed from the papers of pupils attending schools of all varieties, are substantiated by the fact already mentioned; viz., that the results in schools attended almost entirely by children of foreigners were fully as good as those in schools where most of the pupils were from American homes. Moreover, in spelling, nationality furnishes a very broad clue to heredity. And as the excellent spelling so frequently found among the children of foreigners cannot be regarded as the perpetuation of a family trait, the influence of heredity on spelling must also be put down as immaterial.

In Table No. 3, the influence of environment is also shown; the results obtained by children of unskilled laborers, whose home surroundings are presumably unfavorable, being compared with results obtained by all classes of children examined. And here again, strange as it may seem, the percentages were practically equal; thus showing that home environment exerts, apparently, as little influence on spelling as the other factors that I have discussed.

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As the facts that I have presented would indicate that the results of instruction in spelling are not materially modified by conditions over which the teacher has no control, it is evident that the causes of success and failure must be sought among the elements brought into play by the teacher. The most important of these are: First, the amount of time devoted to spelling; second, the methods of teaching the subject; third, the selection of words; and, last, the personal equation of the teacher. These points will now be individually considered.

Concerning the amount of time devoted to spelling, I need only repeat what was mentioned in my last article, namely, that an increase of time beyond a certain minimum is not rewarded by better results; or in other words, that all the time beyond this minimum is simply thrown away. This, in my opinion, was conclusively proved by the table presented in THE FORUM for April, which showed that the results obtained by forty or fifty minutes' daily instruction were not better than those obtained where not more than ten or fifteen minutes had been devoted to the subject. As the time element is the central point around which the possibility of enriching the course revolves, my researches would have been amply repaid if they had led to nothing beyond this discovery.

Those who regard as incredible my statement concerning the time element in spelling may possibly find some food for reflection in my article on "Economy of Time in Teaching," which appeared in the February number of THE FORUM. Again, conviction may be carried by the facts presented in a letter just received from Dr. Eucken, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Jena. Prof. Eucken writes as follows:

JENA, April 19, 1897.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:

I have read your articles in THE FORUM with great interest; and I am pleased that you are laboring with so much energy toward the exclusion of useless matters from the course, so that attention may be centred on the essentials. The results presented in your last article, "The Futility of the Spelling Grind," are also very interesting, and cannot fail to lead to serious reflection.

That instruction, particularly in the lower grades, is in need of simplification, we have had occasion to experience with our own children. It appeared to us that, for the little the children actually acquired in the public schools, they were obliged to spend far too much time in the schoolroom. We therefore organized a small private class (3 to 5 children) for the purpose of covering the work of the lower grades. The children received from 5 to 8 hours' instruction per week. The results were perfectly satisfactory. The requirements were met excellently, so that the children were enabled immediately to enter the next higher grade.

No doubt the number of pupils played an important part in the achievement;

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but the success must certainly be largely attributed to the better methods employed in our little private school.

I therefore wish you all possible success in your endeavors. Obviously, in America, they are duly recognized and appreciated.

Very respectfully yours,

DR. J. M. RICE. R. EUCKEN.

Next, concerning the influence of methods, a very comprehensive study was made, through personal interviews with some two hundred teachers whose pupils had taken part in my tests. These teachers were questioned, to the minutest details, in regard to the course they had pursued. As the table showing a summary of these interviews side by side with the results was found too complicated for publication, I shall be able to present only the deductions to be drawn therefrom.

In brief, these deductions may be summarized in the statement, that there is no direct relation between methods and results. In other words, the results varied as much under the same as they did under different methods of instruction.

For example, among the points that have given rise to endless discussion, is that concerning the value of oral spelling; some believing it to be vital, while others claim that it is actually detrimental. My tests showed that, while in some of the schools, where a special feature had been made of oral spelling, the results were favorable, in others they were unfavorable. And the same conditions were shown where oral spelling had been abandoned. Second, much discussion has arisen as to whether, in written spelling, the words of the lesson should be placed in columns or in sentences. But the claim of superiority in favor of sentence over column spelling was by no means corroborated, the results of the sentence method varying just as much as those of the column method.

In addition to questions on the fundamental elements, an inquiry was made concerning the details relating to these methods; such as the mode of dividing words into syllables, both in oral and written spelling, the different ways in which misspelled words were made up by the pupils, the frequency of reviews, and so on; but no direct relation between devices and results could be traced. A very careful study was made as to whether there is any foundation for the theory that when children learn to read by the phonic method they fall into the habit of spelling phonetically, and therefore become poor spellers. The analysis showed that some of the best results had been obtained where the phonic method had been employed; that, in fact, the phonic method

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had long formed a feature in the cities where the highest averages were made. Another theory, that the best spelling is produced in schools where the most general reading is done, also proved unfounded. Nor did the schools where most time was devoted to written language make the best showing.

In recent years, a device, known as the sight or flash method, has found its way into some of our schools. This method, in brief, is as follows: A word is written on the board by the teacher, who permits the pupils to glance at it for a moment. The word is then erased, and the pupils are called upon to reproduce it on the board from memory. In this way, one word after another is written until the lesson is completed. Some who have used this method look upon it as a panacea: others have no confidence in it whatever. Judging by my results, the claims in its favor are not warranted: on the contrary, in some of the schools where it had been faithfully tried, the results were particularly discouraging.

The facts here presented, in my opinion, will admit of only one conclusion; viz., that the results are not determined by the methods employed, but by the ability of those who use them. In other words, the first place must be given to the personal equation of the teacher; while methods and devices play only a subordinate part.

It seems to me, therefore, that the evils now ascribed to uncontrollable circumstances should be attributed in large part to a lack on the part of the teacher of those qualifications which are essential to success. Consequently, when reasonable demands are not met within a reasonable time limit, we are justified in inferring that the fault lies with the teacher and not with the pupils. An instructive experience I once encountered will serve to illustrate this point. On leaving a classroom in which I had heard a few recitations, I complimented the teacher on the intelligence of her pupils. She replied: "You must not give me credit for that. *These children are Russians; and one can do anything with Russians.*" It so happened that on the next day, I visited a classroom, in which the children were exceptionally dull. On this occasion the teacher remarked: "You must not blame me for their stupidity. *My pupils are Russians; and one cannot do anything with Russians.*"

Finally, I shall call attention to an important factor, on the side of instruction, whose influence, though manifest, is not affected by the spirit of the teacher. I refer to the selection of words for the spelling course. It is only in this element that I can find an explanation of the most puzzling feature shown in the tables accompanying

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the preceding article, namely, that classes which received exceptionally low averages on the column-test, did just as well as others on the sentence- and composition-tests. That these poor results cannot be attributed to lack of experience in writing words in columns, is proved by the fact that, in most of the schools where they were secured, column spelling had formed a regular feature in instruction. Nor can they be accounted for by the fact, previously mentioned, that the exceptionally high percentages were not trustworthy; for the results to which I now refer were far below those obtained in some instances where the words were dictated by myself. I believe, therefore, that the lack of success on this particular test was due to the fact that it contained certain classes of words on which these pupils had not been drilled; although, with few exceptions, the words employed were very common ones.

A careful analysis showed that in most instances where the low averages on the column-test were obtained, the spelling-book had been abandoned; although where it had been set aside, the results were not always low. In many such cases, the words are selected entirely from the other school-books,—reader, geography, history, arithmetic, science, and so on,—when opportunity for using them in school work arises. Words not directly needed are liable to be neglected, however common they may be. Thus, in selecting words for the needs of the schoolroom, rather than of life, the danger arises of giving precedence to technical and unusual words, while the common ones play only a subordinate part.

It is claimed in favor of this method of selection, that it is the more natural one. In my opinion, however, no method of teaching can be more unnatural; for, when the words are thus selected, the pedagogical principle—from the easy to the difficult—is disregarded, and systematic progress abandoned. Moreover, from a practical standpoint, the method is a most wasteful one, because much of the time which should be devoted to practical spelling is spent in studying words seldom used outside the schoolroom. When the need for such words arises in life, resort may be had to the dictionary. If the dictionary must be more or less frequently employed, in spite of instruction in spelling, it is safer to run our chances with the unusual words, than with those in constant use. The danger of leading children into bad habits if we permit them to misspell words in their written work could be obviated without completely perverting instruction in spelling. It would be necessary simply to tell the pupils how to spell the uncommon

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and technical words, or to place them on the board, when occasion required. Thus, children might be led incidentally to learn how to spell the rarer words, while the spelling period proper might be spent on practical work.

The absurdities incident to the so-called "natural method" were shown very clearly during one of my visits to a fifth-year class, when the pupils, who had studied the pine, were about to write a composition on the subject. In preparation, the spelling-lesson of the day consisted of the following words: *Exogen*, *erect*, *cylindrical*, *coniferal*, *irregular*, *indestructible*, *pins*, *resinous*, and *whorls*. First, as for systematic progress in spelling—from the easy to the difficult—a more absurd combination could be scarcely devised. And second, from the practical point of view, such words as *exogen*, *coniferal*, *whorls*, are entirely out of place—at least until perfection in common words has been reached. And that drill in common words was still sorely needed in this instance, was shown by the results obtained by the pupils on some of the simple words in my sentence-test; the forty-four papers submitted showing errors as follows: *running* 9, *slipped* 27, *believe* 17, *changeable* 30, *baking* 7, *piece* 11, *careful* 12, *waiting* 9, *getting* 9, *driving* 11, and *hopping* 17. In the grade representing the latter half of the fourth school-year, containing pupils soon to be promoted into the class just spoken of, the results in forty papers on words in my column-test showed the following errors: *bureau* and *chocolate* 39, *pigeon* 38, *biscuit*, *celery*, *vegetable* 37, *February* 36, *Wednesday* 34, *dough* 31, *autumn* 27, *cabbage* 24, *bedstead*, *beggar*, *steel* 23, *tailor* 22. Are we justified in such cases as these in spending our time on unusual words?

Having presented my data, it will now be in place to say a few words concerning the course in spelling which I have been led to regard as the most rational and fruitful. First, as to oral and written, column and sentence spelling, I shall say only this, that the wise teacher will acquaint herself with as many methods and devices as possible, and change from one to the other, in order to relieve the tedium and to meet the needs of individual children. Before all, she will beware of running off at a tangent with any particular method, because none yet discovered has proved a panacea.

Second, under no circumstances should more than fifteen minutes daily be devoted to the subject. Whatever benefit the pupils receive from their instruction in spelling will be obtained within this period.

Third, I would recommend that the words be carefully graded, not only in regard to orthographical difficulties, but in accordance with the

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vocabulary of the child as well. In this way, the course in spelling might become as systematic as in other subjects.

Fourth, precedence should be given to common words, while technical and unusual words should be taught incidentally. By excluding words of the latter classes, the course would be materially abridged, and the chances of producing good practical spellers proportionately increased.

Fifth, the course should be further abridged by excluding words that contain no catch, *i. e.*, words which naturally spell themselves. My researches on this point would indicate that more than half the common words belong to this category, and consequently need not be studied. The ideal ground to be covered in spelling would be represented, therefore, by a carefully graded list of the common words most liable to be misspelled. The number of words in this list, according to my estimate, would be between six and seven thousand.

When the words have been selected, the next step will lie in a systematic treatment of the difficulties. And here again the course is open to simplification, by separating the words that may be learned collectively from those which must be mastered individually.

The words that can be acquired collectively are those to which rules of spelling apply. While, in some instances, the exceptions are so numerous as to rob the rules of their value, a few of them, nevertheless, are very reliable, at least for all practical purposes. And, as these few rules govern thousands of words, it would be much less burdensome to master them than to memorize such words individually. Among these rules, two are particularly comprehensive, and should be taught, year after year, until applied automatically. They are: first, the rule referring to the doubling of the consonant, as in *run–running;* and, second, the rule concerning the dropping of the final e, as in *bake–baking.* That so many children, even in the highest grammar grade, should spell *lose* with two o's, does not necessarily throw discredit on the teacher; but that a child who has attended school four years or more should write "While runing he sliped," or "She was bakeing cake," is as unpardonable as if he were unable to add 2 and 2. And yet out of 252 pupils in the fourth school-year, whose papers were examined with reference to this point, *running* was misspelled by 94, *slipped* by 126, and *baking* by 69.

That little advantage is now taken of rules, is indicated by the fact that, broadly speaking, as many errors were made on words governed by rules, as on those to which they did not apply. The comparison

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is shown in the following table, which is based on the sentence test:

TABLE NO. 4.

No. of Schools.	Grade.	No. of Pupils.	General Average.	Results on words under the rule.	Results on words not under rule.
3	4	252	66.4	60.9	69.
3	5	232	76.4	72.6	78.2
3	6	311	71.	73.2	70.2
3	7	191	80.9	81.9	80.6
2	8	62	86.3	91.4	85.4

In the fourth- and fifth-year classes, it will be seen that the results were in favor of words not under the rule. In the sixth-year classes, however, the scale began to turn.

The words that must be studied individually are those in which no clue is given, either by sounds or rules. The best to be done with such words, until our spelling is reformed, is to bring them to the notice of the child, and trust to chance for the results. The simple reform of dropping the silent letter in the last syllable of such words as *beggar*, *driver*, *doctor*, *mantel*, *bundle*, *metal*, would enable us to strike no less than 15 per cent of the words from the described list. Again, in the long vowel sounds the difficulties are endless; the same sound being represented in so many different ways that it is a marvel to be able to master them at all. To illustrate: *blue*, *to*, *too*, *two*, *who*, *shoe*, *you*, *ewe*; *lieu*, *view*, *new* (*knew*); *no* (*know*), *sew*, *beau*, *toe*, *owe*, *oh*, *dough*, *goat*. Again, the choice between *ee* and *ea*, as in *feed*, *read*, is extremely puzzling. What a boon to our children it would be, to rid spelling of such peculiarities as these!

The difficulties in English spelling were most vividly demonstrated by the numerous ways in which the younger children endeavored to get at some of the words. In a fourth-year class of forty pupils, for example, the word *physician* was misspelled in forty different ways, *chandelier* in 32, *machinery* in 27, *bureau* and *chocolate* in 23, *vegetable* in 19, *furniture* in 18, *biscuit* in 17, *Wednesday* in 15, *celery* and *pigeon* in 14, *baggage* in 13, *February* and *cabbage* in 11, *dough* in 9. Some of the combinations were as follows:

For *physician*: *fasition*, *fesition*, *fisition*, *fusition*, *fazition*, *fisision*, *facision*, *fizeshon*, *fazishon*, *fusashon*, *physichan*, *phyzision*, *physicion*, *phacicion*, *physision*, *phisishon*, *phasichian*, *phisishon*, *vasition*, *vecition*, *fasision*, *fosi-*

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shen, fursishon, fushistion, feshishon, phisican, fusison, fesision, phsishen, fazuishen, phosion, fusion, fysion, fazshen, fishon, phasian, phacion, fegtion, phyasishen, phsam; for *chocolate: chocalate, choclate, choclet, chocklet, chocklate, chockolit, chocklod, chokolat, chokelate, chokelat, chalkolet, chaclote, chaclate, chalket, cholet, cholate, choalate, chalcolate, choctlet, choaklate, choclelot, chouilet, cacklet;* for *bureau: buro, burow, buroe, buerow, burreau, burro, burou, buero, beauro, beaurow, beaurew, beuro, beuroe, berro, berow, berrow, biro, beiro, brewro, bewer, beroueo, broe, berrobe;* for *vegetable: vegitable, vegitabels, vegatable, vegtable, vegtible, vegtibale, vegeatabel, vegitble, vegitbul, vegatobol, vegitale, vetable, vegeable, vegubale, veguable, vegatabe, vegitalb, vegtful, vestuble;* for *furniture: furnature, furnishture, funeture, funiture, furnutor, furnisher, furnachure, furnichure, fruniture, furiture, furnerchur, ferichure, furicher, furichur, furuner, ferichrue, furercure.*

Finally, I would suggest a separate list of those puzzling small words, which, though constantly used in writing, are yet so frequently misspelled. Among these may be mentioned *to, too, there, their, hear, here, any, many, much, such, which, those, whose,* and *does.* In all such a list need not include more than 150 or 200 words. As these words cannot be too often brought to the notice of the child, the drill should be begun as early as possible, and continued throughout the entire course. Even in the highest grammar grade, a considerable number of pupils will write *dose* for *does, who's* for *whose, there* for *their, to* for *too,* etc. The sentence, "Too much food is harmful," was given to very many children East and West; and in the sixth-year classes from 40 to 75 per cent of the pupils began the sentence with "To."

Although a liberal admixture of methods and a judicious selection of words would be of material assistance, nothing can take the place of that personal power which distinguishes the successful from the unsuccessful teacher. Consequently, our efforts should be primarily directed toward supplying our schools with competent teachers. As the number required precludes the possibility of limiting the selection to those who are born for the profession, our only course lies in developing the requisite powers, as well as we can, where they are naturally weak. To this end, I believe that no means can be more effective than to prescribe a definite task, to be completed in a given time, and to make the tenure of office depend on the ability to meet the demand. If my proposition should consider the results alone, then of course it would be fraught with the danger of leading us back to the era of endless mechanical drill; but so long as the time limit is a *sine qua non,* this danger is entirely averted.

J. M. Rice.

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A PROPAGATOR OF PAUPERISM: THE DISPENSARY.

AGES before the Epistle to the Corinthians declared that charity was the greatest of all the virtues, the instinct of sympathy for the weaker man guaranteed the help and protection of the stronger. It is a pity that high aims of helpfulness should be misdirected, and the laudable motives for their fulfilment misconstrued; but more is the pity that it is true. To such as may not have given special attention to the subject which forms the text of the present article, the statement that so-called medical charity, as it is bestowed in the various hospitals and dispensaries throughout the land, is very grossly abused will carry with it a lamentable significance. It is, however, an old story with the medical profession, which is mostly concerned in these dispensations, and an unwholesome truth as applied to many of the lay managers of such benefactions.

It may be broadly stated, as the result of exhaustive statistical study, that fully 50 per cent of the patients who apply for free medical aid are totally undeserving of such charity. The main reason for this is that no effectual means are taken by the managers of these institutions to correct the abuse. For the sake of donations and the ostensible good accomplished by the treatment of a large number of patients, these charities are managed on the usual business principles of proving their right to be and to prosper on the assumed basis of demand and supply.

In New York alone there are one hundred and sixteen dispensaries each one of which is vying with the other in propagating the worst form of pauperism. The public is being taught that nothing is more freely given than medical advice to any who may ask for it. The institutions in question are crowded daily by hundreds of well-to-do patients, who are encouraged to defraud the really poor and to cheat the charitably disposed doctor of his legitimate fee. All this goes on in spite of protests, and in open defiance of all the laws of ordinary decency and fair play. The managers of these so-called charities, who virtually have the matter in their own hands, while openly pretending to deplore present conditions, are covertly combating every effort at reform, on the ground of its impracticability.

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The more we study the question in its various aspects the more evident is the fact that medical charity, as now offered, is very much overdone. Instead of vaunting not itself, it is puffed up beyond any resemblance to what it once gloried to be, and is now a bloated mass of rottenness that extends to the very core of laudable intentions.

It is high time that such a condition should be candidly discussed and impartially judged. It is useless to assume that no one is directly to blame; and we need not go farther than the boards of management of these institutions to fix the main onus of the wrong-doing. In times gone by, the administration of needful help to the sick poor was altogether in the hands of the physician; and it was the glory of the medical profession to claim that no really meritorious case was ever denied free assistance. Unlike any of the members of the other liberal callings, with the physician it was never a question of money, nor of any equivalent other than the satisfaction of performing a bounden duty to humanity. Advantage has been taken of the latter condition from the time the good Samaritan ordered treatment for the first notable charity patient in history; and the ever-ready doctor has thus been made the victim of every benevolent scheme, true or false. Unconsciously he has slowly and surely become the ready tool of every corporation that claims to provide for the poor. Strange as it may appear, the man who is the most essential factor in the case, and without whose voluntary offices it would be impossible to treat the sick at all, is now virtually precluded from saying anything regarding the method in which the treatment should be carried out. The managers of the dispensaries and of other charities have taken the whole matter so entirely out of his hands that he has become the abject servant rather than the rightful master. The medical attendants may do all the work; but they have virtually no voice in the government of these institutions. In other words, the managers, influenced solely by the determination to do all they can for their respective institutions, make rules to suit themselves, and compel the medical staff either to submit to them or to resign. Under such circumstances it is not difficult to see where the main responsibility for the abuses of charity, so numerous and so grave, should properly rest. It would appear that charity is monopolized in the same way as any other marketable commodity that is ruled by money. The money-changers are apparently in full possession of the temple. The millionaire philanthropists stand in the same relation to the medical profession as did the camel to the Arab when his beast asked the privilege of poking his nose into his master's tent. When the camel finally

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occupied it there was no room for the owner; and he was forced to vacate accordingly. Similarly it happens that the doctor is generally on the outside when any efforts at internal reforms are in order.

The least hope of any change in policy is with those dispensaries that are bountifully endowed. The leading institution of this class in New York city is located on the West Side, and, in view of its defiant abuse of all kinds of medical charity, has earned for itself the unenviable sobriquet of the "diamond dispensary." For such as know its methods it is unnecessary to ask the origin of such a designation. It has such a high reputation for the number and pecuniary ability of its patients that it would appear to be rather a credit than a disgrace to receive its outrageously misdirected charity. Such at least is the inevitable conclusions that may be based upon the large average of well-to-do people who claim daily the benefits of free medical treatment so lavishly and indiscriminately furnished to all who apply. For the sake of receiving free advice, other matters are allowed to become of secondary consideration. Many of these visitors are from out-of-town districts, and will pay several dollars for car-fare, will ask for a written diagnosis of their disease and an extra prescription, and will then complain if they are kept waiting beyond the time for their return train. The examining doctor is content to ride to the dispensary in a horse-car: the patient comes and returns in a cab. It is no longer a joke to refer to the display of diamonds or the number of women clad in seal-skins in the patients' waiting-room. Nor does it appear to be unlikely that, in the near future, conveniences will not be required for checking bicycles and distributing carriage numbers in the order of the different arrivals. In this connection, the following description by an eye-witness in the waiting-room of this dispensary may be interesting:—

"The reception-room held about two hundred at a time. Nobody was turned away. Fully 50 per cent of the applicants were well dressed, and 10 per cent of them were finely dressed. Three women wore fur coats that had not been handed down from somebody else. There was an attractive display of fine millinery; and the men, more than half of them, bore no evidences of poverty. But all obtained free treatment supposed to be given to paupers—'poor persons.'"

Although the particular institution in question may be justly considered as the head and front of the offending, similar so-called charities throughout New York city are equally guilty of like fraudulent practices. Such instances as the following carry with them their own moral:—

"During the examination of a dispensary patient a roll of bills dropped from

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her pocket. The doctor picked it up and remarked: 'Madam, this is a free dispensary; and, as you are able to pay a fee for medical advice, I must decline to treat you here.' 'Well,' replied the woman, 'that money is for something else. You are paid by the city, and must prescribe for me.' On being assured that the doctor received no salary from any source, the patient became indignant, and protested that she was entitled to attention equally with the 'lady' who had preceded her and from whom she had rented a house the week before."

A still more striking case is related by another physician:—

"A wretchedly clad woman presented herself to me at the dispensary and asked for treatment. She gave a name that I afterward found was assumed. She was badly in need of attention and said she could not pay. I believed her and agreed to treat her. It was an interesting case; and she consented to appear before the class of fifty or sixty doctors.

One day, after she had been before the class several times and treated, I was driving with my wife in Central Park. We were passed by a magnificent team and carriage,—spanking horses, nobby coachman and footman, and glittering harness. In the carriage was a lady whose features were familiar; but I could not remember where I had seen her. That same day my charity patient presented herself, attired as usual in the poorest of clothes. I recognized her as the lady of the fine turnout. I said nothing, as I thought I would investigate. A few days later I saw the same carriage in front of a fashionable shop, and got a good view of my patient as she alighted. When she next presented herself I asked her for her real name. She gave me her assumed dispensary name. Then I told her she was deceiving me; and she finally disclosed her identity. She was the wife of a man known all over the city as a millionaire. I sent a bill to her husband; and it was paid without a word."

Here are additional testimonies of a similar nature:—

"A woman keeping a fashionable boarding-house in the neighborhood of Madison Avenue, New York, always visits a dispensary when she requires medical service. Were she able to moderate her bibulous propensities and pay for medical attendance out of such savings, I am sure both she and some striving doctor would be benefited. In the same house the wife of a man who receives a salary of twenty-eight hundred dollars a year has for months attended the free out-door department of a hospital in New York. From the same house also, a man with rheumatism, whose wife earns fifty dollars a week on the stage, receives free electric treatment at a dispensary."

Says a distinguished professor of New York city:—

"I recall the case of a German family to whom I gave free treatment in the dispensary for five years, and then found out by accident that the head of the family paid taxes on $100,000 worth of real estate.

Another regular dispensary patient was a woman who was afterward ascertained to be the wife of one of the wealthiest and most prominent hardware merchants in the city.

I can name a man, a resident of Fifth Avenue, who came into an estate worth millions, and who used to take his child regularly to a dispensary to get free treatment.

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One day a woman came to me at the dispensary and requested free treatment. She was poorly dressed, and said she was unable to pay. I gave her a prescription. Afterward I found out that her husband had given her five dollars to pay for the very service that she obtained free."

The following assertion from a hard-worked dispensary doctor is equally significant:

"It is not a novel experience for one to meet at the theatre, or out riding on a wheel, the very patients who were too poor, forsooth, to pay a doctor, and hence availed themselves of dispensary treatment. In the clinic in which I am an assistant it is not an unusual thing for men to ask if their trouble would be aggravated by the use of a bicycle. One patient had the temerity to ask me if horseback riding was likely to prove injurious."

It is not necessary, for the sake of proving a rule, to multiply illustrations. There is not a physician in any large city who is connected, even indirectly, with dispensary work who is not willing to assert that the whole system of medical charity is most notoriously and outrageously misapplied.

The dispensary managers also admit the fact; but they shift most of the blame upon the doctors, who are always so eager to serve the poor without pay. While the medical man, for purely charitable reasons as well as for professional experience, is ever ready to treat gratuitously the really helpless sufferer, it does not necessarily follow that he should be expected to care for the well-to-do on a like basis. While there may be occasional exceptions to a general rule of full payment for an "interesting" case, it nevertheless holds good in a strictly ethical sense that no patient, no matter who, what, or where he is, or what the interest in the study of any rare or particular ailment from which he may suffer, is ever entitled to free treatment if able to pay even a nominal professional fee. Naturally, all other things being equal, the progressive medical man engrossed in the examination of unusual conditions of disease would give more thought to an interesting case than to one of ordinary occurrence. Why should the doctor not be paid and interested at the same time? If anything, the lucky patient with the rare malady should have the grim satisfaction of claiming more of the doctor's attention than is received by his less accommodating neighbor for the same money. Unfortunately for poor humanity, there are enough of such diseases among the poor, who are always entitled to the doctor's services, to give him all the satisfaction he needs, without wasting his time on those who can, but will not, pay for his work.

The profession is sufficiently in earnest in its efforts to stop the present abuses to yield any supposed advantages along such a line to the

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pressing expediency of adopting absolute rules for separating the paying from the non-paying clients. There would be no difficulty in effecting a proper understanding on such a point, if the managers were willing to be consistent in other directions. They have all the power to do and to dare, but prefer seemingly to haggle over trifles rather than to settle great questions. In fact this has been abundantly proved of late by the futile efforts of the Committee of Medical Societies in their conferences with various boards of dispensary managers. Evidently something more than appeals from the rank and file of the medical profession is needed before these stubborn boards will loosen their grip or yield their usurped positions. The time has evidently come when plain words should be spoken to the public, especially that part of it which supports these institutions. It is not true that poor people suffer for want of skilled medical attendance. On the contrary, they obtain vastly more than they have a right to expect. Charity, as applied to most of the dispensaries, especially those in the wealthy districts, is a mere name. Vast sums of money are wasted yearly on worthless and undeserving persons. There would not be any danger of the really poor suffering, if half the hospitals and two-thirds of the dispensaries were closed tomorrow. No millionaire, anxious to fit the camel to the eye of the needle and quiet his conscience by lending to the Lord, need worry because the dispensaries may suffer for want of necessary funds. As it is, the thrift of one class now ministers to the improvidence of the other. The anodyne which quiets the conscience of the giver paralyzes the soul of the taker.

It is justly claimed that the doctors are in part to blame for initiating the very evil from the stupendous growth of which they and the community at large are now suffering so much. It is not difficult to associate the conditions of cause and effect in discussing the question from the purely professional aspect. The weak point with the physician has been his desire for increased clinical experience, and the advancement in his business interests which such experience may bring. Like all other good things, it has been very much overdone. Nor are his eyes yet open to the fact that he is fast drifting to the bad, in his zeal for doing the good. It is quite true that he has not yet fully awakened to the necessity of calling a halt in the only way that may tend to mitigate, or possibly arrest, a rapidly growing evil. The men at the dispensaries know that they are doing wrong in curtailing their own incomes and those of their brethren by treating in their clinic rooms patients who are able, and perhaps willing, to pay a

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fee in their respective offices; yet they are afraid seemingly to take an active stand against the fraud. Individually they object to the unfairness of the thing; but collectively they submit to its consequences. If they could be content to limit their studies to the proper cases for treatment, and to resist resolutely the temptation to go farther, much of the existing abuse would be at once remedied. If there were concerted action in this direction, the dispensary managers would find it to their interest to come to terms. The chances of such a condition, considering the eagerness for medical appointments, the reputation of holding them, and the desire for increased experience, are too remote to be at present considered. The profession is not yet sufficiently unanimous in its own interests to make this possible. It must be still further disciplined in its destructive tendencies. The managers are profiting by this weakness, and are complacently contemplating the strange spectacle of the fabled worm that is turned upon itself in the vain effort to feed on its own vitals.

So long as one of the main objects of medical teaching is to gain clinical material at all hazards, so long will the present evils be beyond the possibility of any immediate remedy by the profession itself. In fact the dispensary in New York city which abuses medical charity the most of all is one that was founded by a millionaire with the avowed object of supplying illustrative cases, rich or poor, for the lecture-room of a neighboring medical college. Such material, it is true, is very necessary for educational purposes; but the ultimate and only benefit accrues to the medical school, whose interest it is to coax students to its doors, take fees for tuition, and overload the medical market with aspiring young men whose very subsistence is denied them by persistently taking from them, by means of these false charities, every reasonable means of legitimate support. It is the old trick of blowing hot and cold with the same breath,—improving goods, at the same time destroying their market value. With shame be it said, many of the appointments in dispensaries are secured with the understanding that certain public clinics shall be regularly supplied with patients who, as an equivalent for free treatment, are expected to appear before a medical class, submit to public examination, and be the text for a medical or surgical lecture. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other teaching centres are more than well supplied with such schools, public and private, undergraduate and post-graduate, that claim the clinical material from the hundreds of ambitious medical satellites who seem to be satisfied with the merely nominal honor of

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a position in a self-constituted and conveniently expansive faculty. Much as the profession may object to the general unfairness of the lay managers of the dispensaries, it can never have a reasonable basis of compromise for necessary reforms until it manifests the intention of remedying one of the main evils of the system for which it is itself certainly and directly accountable.

This mistaken eagerness for dispensary experience reacts disastrously upon the profession in many ways. Although at first it may be a question between the ins and the outs in the dispensary business, in the long run it must prove that the profession is persistently working toward its own ultimate destruction as a remunerative calling. The swindling dispensary patient receives everything, and yields virtually nothing in return. Even the rarity of his disease is an unearned increment on his part, for which he should have no privileged compensation. He simply takes charity, robs the willing doctor, and cheats the deserving poor. It would appear that the medical man of the near future must educate himself at great expense of time and money, must study in the hospitals, take post-graduate courses, and, with a necessarily independent income, be ever ready to meet and minister to the veriest pauper. He must be content to spend his time and capital in distributing samples of his skill to all comers, with the delusion that his business is increasing with the number of his patients. The younger medical men in the various dispensary-ridden cities feel the truth of this prediction more than those already established in the profession; for the physician starting in practice must depend upon such patients as are able to pay only small fees. The great majority of such clients now go to a convenient dispensary. Whenever any of these spurious charities starts in a given locality the incomes of the medical men of the neighborhood fall to the extent of one-half to two-thirds of their former amounts. In contemplation of this fact it is easy to understand why the younger men, more especially, are the persistently active and consistently determined opposers of the dispensary abuse. Certainly no one is unjust enough to deny to them the right to make an honest living by the legitimate practice of a very useful and highly honorable calling. It depends a great deal upon the mettle of these men whether or not the main issue upon which the professional aspect of this question rests will yet be brought to the front. Dr. Walter Brooks Brouner, in an able article on this subject in a recent issue of the "Medical Record," forcibly and directly presents the younger physicians' side of the argument:—

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"Think of it! If a doctor attends a clinic three times a week for fifty-two weeks, treating daily on an average five patients, every one of whom could pay a moderate fee, say $1.00 (yet this is a small average), what has he done? Simply deprived the profession of $780 in one year. It does not take much of an arithmetician to estimate the net result of a year of such work. If we suppose that 25 per cent of the two million and odd visits made by patients at dispensaries had been paid in our offices instead, at the small sum of $1.00 *per capita*, $500,000 would have been placed to the credit of the profession. This means that if five hundred doctors of New York city had gotten an even share of the work, each would have had to his credit in the bank $1,000 for the year."

Not only do the dispensaries, by their lax methods of discrimination, allow incomes to be diverted from the expectant medical beginner, but these institutions openly bid for pay from every applicant. It may not be generally known that the great majority of these charities charge every patient from ten to twenty-five cents for advice and medicine. One of these, which is connected with the oldest and wealthiest hospital corporations in New York city, charges one dollar a month to all applicants, under the transparently hypocritical plea of preserving the self-respect of the swindling recipient and of making him feel that he is not the worst specimen of a pauper. The income from this source is considered sufficient to pay all the running expenses of these generous and noble benefactions. The sums thus collected by the different dispensaries vary in yearly amounts from five to fifteen thousand dollars; and yet this is quietly, covertly, and persistently done in the name of pure charity! This is not only striving to demonstrate that medical service as such is worth nothing, but that skill in compounding a prescription has no practical value; the possible original cost of the medicine being the only pecuniary factor in the consideration. The average of handsome profit is struck by the uniformly exacted standard fee, it being generally understood that many of the drugs are donations from wholesale houses, are mixed by the gallon, and economically dispensed in stock prescriptions. The ordinary manufacturer rails against the injustice of prison labor; but what about the business profit of the outside pharmacist, and the harm to the doctor's legitimate work by the fraudulent methods of these so-called charities, to which he so constantly and willingly tenders his best services?

While it must be admitted that no confessedly poor patient can be denied the privilege of free medical service, either with or without the dispensary system, the present shameful ministration to a large number of undeserving people is fraught with every form of evil to the individual recipient of false charity, and to the community at large,

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which so tacitly abets it. There is not only a wrong diversion of funds conscientiously contributed for a specific purpose, but there is an open bid for pauperism in its worst form. There appears to be a subtle influence regarding medical pauperism which does not obtain in many of the other forms of alms-taking. The man who would scorn to take a loaf of bread from his baker, a pair of shoes from his shoemaker, or a bag of coal from his coal-dealer, coaxes himself to believe that he is doing a smart thing by lying to the doctor in order to get free advice. It would appear that his bodily weakness, affecting his resisting power against disease, extends its baleful effects to his conscience; rendering him unable to overcome those influences which eventually tend to undermine the very foundation of his personal honor. He first begins his career as a pauper by simply taking what he should not receive, and ends by begging for what he does not deserve. The dispensary gives him his first lesson in the easy down-grade to indigence, idleness, and degradation. He may scorn the tramp; but the latter has not the additional disgrace of flying false colors. The community which closes its eyes to the ultimate possibilities of such conditions becomes equally culpable with the offender himself. It is as much the duty of the people to combat these pernicious tendencies as it is to remedy all other equally fraudulent practices. To most persons the subject appears to be a very delicate one, the frank discussion of which is hemmed in by the fear of possibly hindering the presumably well-directed aims of necessary charity. Such a view, however, is based on false premises, as can be easily proved by a calm study of glaring and incontrovertible facts.

In the various attempts that have been made to remedy the evils of the present system, numerous obstacles have presented themselves. Thus far it has been seemingly impossible to reconcile differences of opinion between the lay managers and the medical attendants regarding the relative expediency of proposed reforms. The managers conduct the dispensary on purely business principles, while the medical and surgical attendants are actuated by a desire for professional advancement and increased clinical opportunities. Each party shifts the responsibility for wrong-doing by blaming the other side. There is apparently no authoritative court to which any appeal can be made. Each managerial board has absolute control of its own institution. It has been able to say that it will do this or that thing; and there is the end to argument. Various schemes have been suggested for weeding out the large number of unworthy applicants; but none of these, for

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obvious reasons, has gained general favor. Beyond the mere show of discrimination between deserving and undeserving patients, no practical result has followed; and the doors are as widely open as ever. The most reasonable measure proposed, and that most generally recommended, has been one providing for the systematic examination of all who plead poverty as an excuse for patronizing the institution. Notwithstanding the difficulty in getting at the truth in all cases, there is no doubt that a perfected plan of registration on such a basis would be of incalculable service. There is no reason why anyone should suffer under such a rule, as all emergency cases could be treated without question,—for the first time at least,—while non-urgent ones could safely wait until they had been investigated by a visiting committee or properly indorsed as worthy objects of charity by some responsible person accepted as such by the institution. Numerous facilities to this end are offered at nominal rates by the charity organizations of different cities. If a person should be discovered as giving a false name or address, he could be branded at once as a liar and a fraud, and be refused treatment. If it were also reported that he was able to pay, a like check could be placed on his continued visits. All this should be done before the applicant is allowed to see the doctor; as the latter has enough to occupy every minute of his valuable time in attending to his patients,—often as many as thirty in an hour. Under these circumstances it can be easily seen that the medical attendant could have no possible temptation to discriminate in favor of specially interesting cases for clinical purposes. For the want of such a preliminary examination, hundreds of undeserving cases are hurried along the line; for it often happens that the overworked prescriber is the only person who can stand between the truth and falsehood of anyone who gains entrance to the examining-room with a perfunctory ticket of admission.

The unwillingness of the dispensary authorities to adopt a uniform method of inspection, and to enforce a standard regulation for charitable relief, naturally suggests the advisability of some form of centralized governmental control of the entire system. Each State should enact suitable laws to such an end, and make it obligatory on every charitable institution to be governed by fixed statutory rules, under the penalty, on overt disobedience, of the annulment of their respective charters. It would then be possible to limit the number of dispensaries and hospitals to the actual needs of the poor in each community. This would necessarily bring such as remain to a rational working basis, and discourage the mushroom growth of the numerous private

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charities that are scattered in every nook and corner of our larger cities. The extent of this reduction can be estimated from the fact that but 25 per cent represents the actual deserving poor of any ordinary community. A still further improvement on the present plan would be the abolition of all institutions not strictly charitable in character. Under such a designation would come all such as received fees or similar returns from applicants. This would do away very properly with the ten-cent, twenty-five-cent, and dollar tax on the patient, who, if really poor, should pay nothing. It is not beyond reasonable hope that in the near future all these institutions may be not only directed, but supported, by the State, the same as our public hospitals, insane asylums, and other similar institutions of charity. Already an attempt is being made in the State of New York, by the enactment of a law making most of these conditions a possibility; the controlling authority being the State Board of Charities. The bill provides that "no person shall apply for free treatment in any dispensary, nor shall any person or persons or corporations conducting such dispensary give treatment or medical aid to any person unless such person shall be a poor person and unable to pay for medical treatment." It also abolishes the obnoxious dispensary fee, by providing that all poor patients shall be treated free of any charges for services or appliances; and that all persons applying for dispensary relief shall, under pain of punishment for misdemeanor, give proof of their inability to pay for services not only by personal attestation of the fact, but by certificates from either the landlord, police captain, alderman, or any reputable charity organization of the district. The latter provision is probably the most reasonable means to the desired end, as not infrequently many landlords would be only too willing to encourage a practice of which they themselves are ofttimes easy victims.

This is a movement in the right direction; and when the authority for controlling all dispensaries, great or small, public or private, is vested in a State board of charities having power to inflict penalties, correct flagrant abuses, establish clearing-houses of general information, annul charters, and act as a board of appeal on disputed questions of management, there is a reasonable promise that many, if not all, of the present abuses, lay and medical, will be eventually corrected. At least it will be exceedingly interesting to all concerned to watch the detail-working of a law calculated to remedy one of the greatest evils of our present faulty charity system.

GEO. F. SHRADY.

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AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN GREECE.

WHEN the American explorers commenced operations in Bœotia, their principal objective was Plataia. The historic celebrity of that name lent to the site itself an absorbing archæological interest.

A few words will suffice to remind the reader of the glorious but tragic history of the gallant little Bœotian town, which, alone of the other Greek cities, shared with Athens the imperishable laurels of Marathon, and which became later the scene of the great battle against the Persian invaders and of their final rout (479 B.C.). The town had been previously sacked and burned by Mardonius, the Persian commander; and the great victory having been won on its devastated territory, the allied Greeks awarded the Platæans, out of the Persian spoils, eighty talents (about $153,000) with which to rebuild their homes and erect the temple of Athena Areia. They further declared Plataia an inviolable city, and conferred on its citizens honors and special privileges; making them guardians of the tombs of the heroes who fell for the freedom of Greece, and entrusting them with the celebration of the festival of the Eleutheria, sacred to Zeus the Deliverer, which continued every fifth year, down to the time of Plutarch. The large-hearted patriotism of the Platæans, however, was as opposed to the time-serving policy of the Thebans as their origin was said to have been distinct from that of their neighbors and irreconcilable foes. The two cities stood only five miles apart; and the Thebans, sallying from their stronghold and disposing of superior forces, could easily surprise their enemies, after a march of only two hours. The Platæans, therefore, having to depend only upon the rather distant alliance of Athens, fortified their city and, later, built extensive walls. The Thebans did, as a matter of fact, attempt to carry the place by surprise at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.). But, having been repulsed with great slaughter, they returned with the Lacedæmonians and laid siege to Plataia, which was defended with unsurpassed heroism for a period of three years. When at length the garrison, having been reduced to two hundred and twenty-five men, surrendered, the Thebans razed the city to the ground.

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In 387 the Lacedæmonians, being now at war with the Thebans, reinstated in their old homes the survivors of the Platæans, who had meanwhile found refuge in Athens. But the city was again taken and destroyed by the Thebans in 372, and again restored, for the third time, by Philip of Macedon, after the battle of Chæronea in 338. Five centuries later Plataia was visited by Pausanias, who refers to the temple of Hera, as well as to that of Athena Areia, which boasted of a famous statue by Phidias, and of the paintings of Polygnotos and Onatas. Of the temple of Zeus Eleutherius nothing then remained but the statue of the god and an altar. But mention is made of another temple, that of Demeter Eleusinia, and of the tomb of Leitus, the only one of the Bœotian chiefs who returned from Troy. In the fifth century of our era Plataia is referred to by Hierocles, the Neo-Platonist; and about a hundred years later Procopios ("De Ædif.," iv. 2) states that its walls were restored once more by the Emperor Justinian. After this, Plataia gradually sinks out of view. Its exposed situation must have rendered it an easy prey to the successive invaders who swept over Northern Greece. But its site has remained marked by a vast and confused mass of ruins.

Of modern travellers, Leake serves here again as our most reliable guide. The ruins stand on a fan-shaped, flat plateau—whence, most probably, the name of the ancient city—about 1,400 metres long from north to south and 1,000 metres in its greatest width. It stretches northward into the plain from off the steep and rugged slope of Mount Kithæron, which rises majestically to the south. About a mile north of the city the river Oëroë flows through the plain westward toward the Euripus; while the Asopos, which has its source in the immediate vicinity, travels westward to the Gulf of Corinth. On the plateau, the line of the outer walls—about eight feet in thickness and fortified with towers—forms an elongated triangle. Two inner walls mark off a rounded enclosure to the southwest, and a smaller triangular area to the extreme south. The latter embraces the highest point of the entire site, and, being separated from the lower rocks of Kithæron by a ravine only fifty yards wide at its narrowest part, is supposed by Leake to have been the acropolis in pre-Persian times, and to have included the entire original city. Its walls are of a more ancient construction than the rest, and are probably the only portions dating prior to the Persian war. "In almost every other part the masonry is of a less ancient kind, and the ruins of former buildings may be detected among the materials; which is no more than consistent with the troubled his-

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tory of later Plataia and the many repairs and renewals it underwent." The temple of Zeus Eleutherius, and the adjacent tombs of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the other Greeks, were situated outside the principal gate, the foundations of which Leake traced not far from the northeastern angle of the wall. This spot he believed to be the one marked by a ruined church—apparently the same church which Dodwell (i. 279) attributes to St. Demetrius, and in which he noticed two inscriptions imbedded.

As we shall see, the results of the first and second campaigns were not brilliant. It was only thanks to Mr. Washington's persevering enthusiasm and conscientious labors that substantial results were obtained in the spring of 1891, and the situation was thus saved.

Through the exertions of Mr. Wesley Harper, Dr. Lamborn, and Mr. H. G. Marquand, a sufficient sum had been collected to warrant the undertaking of the work, which was accordingly begun on April 2, 1889, with sixty-three workmen; Dr. Waldstein assuming the direction. His object, as explained in the report, was first to find some architectural, artistic, or epigraphic clue indicating points upon which work might be concentrated. Byzantine churches are, as we have seen, rich depositories of such indications; and the extensive site of Plataia included no less than nine such ruins visible above ground. It was therefore decided to dig near several of these; and, the force of workmen having been divided into three sections, the party under Dr. Waldstein explored, during the first three days, an equal number of these structures; but with only negative results. Mr. F. B. Tarbell examined the church believed to have been sacred to St. Demetrius, and two other similar ruins; but he quitted the excavations on the second day. Mr. J. C. Rolfe, after three days' work on the church of St. Nicolas and another church to the west of the city wall, was joined by Dr. Waldstein; their efforts being now concentrated upon a three-apsed church, where Mr. Tarbell had dug on the first day. This structure yielded only a number of classic architectural fragments.

At this point the work of the first season at Plataia, which lasted only four days, was brought to a close; and it would have been reckoned as of a purely tentative character, had not the researches of Messrs. Tarbell and Rolfe resulted in the discovery of twelve inscriptions, subsequently published by them in the fifth volume of the "Papers." The most important of these is a Latin inscription which had served, in the three-apsed church, as a paving-stone, and was partly imbedded under its walls. As it lay face uppermost, about half the lettering on the right

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side was worn away; while, of the fifty-five lines which compose it, the first is chipped off. On examination it proved to be the first portion of the preamble of the famous Edict of Diocletian (A.D. 285) "De Pretiis Rerum Venalium," which fixed the maximum prices of commodities throughout the empire.

The text of this Edict was already known from other inscriptions; but in it important gaps existed, which were now supplied by the Platæan copy,—noteworthy also by the fact that it is the only version of the Edict in the Latin original found in Greece proper. Several fragments of the Greek translation had been previously discovered in other parts of the country; and during the excavations of the second season yet another portion of the Greek version was unearthed at Plataia,—the stele on which it is engraved having done duty as a covering-stone to a Byzantine grave. This portion contains a chapter relating to the prices of textiles; and, from squeezes of the inscription and copies sent to him, Prof. Mommsen, who had for many years devoted himself to the study of the numerous extant fragments of the Edict, edited, at the request of the American School, this latest fragment and published it in the fifth volume of the "Papers."

The second campaign at Plataia partook more of the character of topographical research than of systematic excavations. After some delay, arising from the severity of the weather, Mr. Washington began work on February 19, and later on he was joined by all the members of the School, with Dr. Waldstein at their head. The work of this season was brought to a close on March 12. The sites of Byzantine churches were again taken as starting-points; but all attempts at tracing the temples of Demeter and of Hera proved abortive; the main result of the season's exploration being confined to four more inscriptions. With regard to topography, Mr. Washington undertook to make a careful and definitive survey of the entire site, the extant accounts of which fail to give satisfactory data, or mark with accuracy the exact position and present condition of the city walls. Mr. Washington's exhaustive report, accompanied by a map and the ground-plans of six of the Byzantine churches by Mr. H. D. Hall, is inserted in the "Papers," and shows that the walls, built principally of the rough gray marble quarried out of the southern ridge of Kithæron, are assignable to five distinct periods—from the earliest polygonal to the later Roman and Byzantine styles of masonry.

Another important matter was the elucidation of certain questions connected with the battle-field of Plataia. The accounts of the battle,

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and the description of the Persian encampments and the successive positions of the Greeks given by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, and other ancient writers, have been the source of many doubts and disputations. The task therefore of studying the whole question afresh was now confided to Mr. W. Irving Hunt, with the result that his "Notes on the Battle-field of Plataia" have cleared up several hitherto contested points, and have defined the famous "island" of Oëroë.

The continuance of the exploration of Plataia during a third season was due to Mr. Washington, whose devotion and intelligent enthusiasm were recompensed by a notable success. He resumed work on April 20, 1891; devoting the first three days to a renewed search of the several spots marked by Byzantine churches, ruined walls, and hewn blocks of stone. Each point however was successively abandoned in despair. Finally, on April 23, he moved to a place nearer the centre of the walls, where a series of sockets cut in the protruding rock was noticed, and which were supposed to have held votive offerings. A little to the south the ground rises one and one-half to two metres above the field, forming a terrace some forty by thirty metres. Hewn blocks were found here,—some fallen below the terrace, and others *in situ*. The spot seemed promising; and two parallel trenches running north and south of the terrace were dug. After half an hour's work a wall was laid bare in each trench, a few feet below the surface. The entire force of workmen was now employed in following up the lines of this wall and in sinking additional cross-trenches to the bed-rock. In the space of four days the foundations of a longitudinal building with cross-walls and an outer encircling wall were cleared.

These foundations are built of smoothly cut blocks of porous stone. Only one block of gray marble—of the kind in general use at Plataia —still rests on the southeastern corner; and another marble block, part of the upper course of the *crepidoma*, showing the trace of one of the steps, was found near the northeastern corner. With the exception of a few pieces of roofing-tiles, not a single fragment of any part of the superstructure was discernible anywhere near the spot. The foundation-walls and the two marble fragments just referred to were the only architectural remains giving any clue to the reconstruction of the building, the determination of its age, or the elucidation of its character and purpose. But the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the trained archæologist are equal to the solution of problems of this kind. The physiologist, in reconstructing some extinct animal out of the evidence supplied by a couple of bones, accomplishes a feat perhaps less

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remarkable than the reconstruction of entire edifices and whole cities by the intelligent and close reasoning of the archæologist. Therefore the careful study, by means of which Mr. Washington succeeded in determining satisfactorily the above three points, deserves some explanation, however brief. It is a typical instance of archæological investigation. I should add that a small terra-cotta statuette of a seated and veiled woman, of a very simple type, and a coin of the Emperor Licinius (A.D. 307–324) were found among the ruins, within the area of which a layer of blackened earth next the rock was also visible.

Let us now see by what process of reasoning the problem was solved. To begin with, the ground plan of the foundations shows them to be those of a peripteral Doric temple of the archaic type. Now, the more complete remains of similar temples, such as the Heræum at Olympia, serve to determine the setting back, from the edge of the extant lower course of gray marble, of the usual three steps on which the columns of Greek temples rest. This point having thus been determined, the diameter of the columns is easily arrived at, since their entire weight must fall within the breadth of the underlying foundation-wall. Consequently, by following the measurements of the extant foundations, the distance from centre to centre of the angle-columns is fixed at 13.30 metres on the ends and at 46.50 metres on the flanks of the temple. The usual proportions of intercolumnation being known from other early Doric structures, the dimensions just obtained lead to the conclusion that this temple must have been a hexastyle; *i. e.*, it had six columns at each end and eighteen or nineteen on each flank. As to material, the fact that not a vestige of the superstructure remains, must be taken to point to the probability of its having been built of marble; for such material was used up with avidity, both by the Byzantines and the Turks, in the manufacture of lime. Preference would, of course, be given to what was within easy reach; and the site of this temple is on level and exposed ground.

With regard to its age, the style and workmanship of the masonry, the shape of the iron clamps (as indicated by the holes on the stone blocks—for the clamps themselves had disappeared), the arrangement of the cella, and the ratio of the number of end and flank columns—six to eighteen—assign the foundation-walls to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The layer of blackened earth, referred to above, points to the fact that the building which originally stood on these foundations was destroyed by fire. And, from the historic facts known to us, it may be safely inferred that it was rebuilt,

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as we shall presently see, in 427 B.C. on these same foundations. When inquiring next to which divinity this temple was dedicated, we find that the range of selection is narrowed down to Hera, Athena Areia, the Eleusinian Demeter, and Artemis Eukleia, who were all honored, as we know, with noteworthy sanctuaries at Plataia. The alternative supposition, that this temple might have been sacred to some other divinity, is not tenable; since, if such were the case, so important and commanding an edifice would not have been passed over in silence by ancient writers, who refer to other shrines at Plataia less noteworthy than the above. The temple of Demeter is spoken of as lying at a distance from the city. That of Artemis is mentioned by Plutarch once ("Aristid.," xx); but, as it is ignored by Pausanias, it could not have been of much importance. As regards the temple of Athena, both Plutarch and Pausanias (but, strangely enough, not Herodotus) state that it was erected out of the share of the Persian spoils ceded to the Platæans. There is, however, no indication of its locality; and altogether our information respecting it is vague and scanty.

Not so in the case of the Heræum. The temple of Hera is first mentioned in connection with the battle of Plataia, when the left wing of the Greek army, falling back before the Persians, took up a position in front of the sacred precincts, which, Herodotus says, lay "before the city." It is also related that the Spartan commander,—who was stationed at a certain distance, close to the temple of Demeter,—finding the sacrifices unpropitious, looked up toward the Heræum and invoked the help of the goddess. When, half a century later, the Thebans razed Plataia to the ground, they constructed near the Heræum an inn two hundred feet square for the accommodation of pilgrims to the shrine. They also erected (427 B.C.) in honor of Hera "a marble temple of a hundred feet." This was the temple which Pausanias visited, and which he describes as standing "within the city" and as remarkable for its great size and the statues it contained,—two by Praxiteles and one by Kallimachos.

The apparent contradiction between Herodotus and Pausanias, as to the locality of the temple, is easily reconcilable. The remains of the city walls indicate that the city was originally confined to the southern elevation of the plateau, and that later it extended northward to its outer and lower portion, where the temple stands. So that when Pausanias saw it, in the second century of our era, it was, as a matter of fact, within the then extended city walls; whereas, at the time of the battle of Plataia (479 B.C.), to which Herodotus refers, the

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site of the temple was still outside the walls and just "before the city." This also explains the retrograde movement of a portion of the Greek army on to the plateau, where they ranged themselves under the shadow of the sanctuary of the great goddess, while the Spartan commander invoked her aid, looking up from the position he held lower down in the plain.

At that time the temple itself, with the rest of the city of Plataia, must have been already laid waste by the Persians. The evidence of the layer of blackened earth on the foundations leaves no doubt that it was burnt at an early date. Now, as the masonry of the extant foundations is clearly pre-Persian, and as the statement of Thucydides is that the Thebans "erected to Hera a marble temple of a hundred feet," the natural inference is that the temple which the Platæans rebuilt after the rout of the Persians, must have been an inferior structure. Thucydides distinctly states that the later one was of marble. It was therefore pulled down by the Thebans and reërected—in honor of a divinity they also specially revered—with greater splendor, but on the same ancient foundations. The original localities of sanctuaries were scrupulously regarded by the Greeks.

The indications of the locality itself support the theory that here stood the temple of Hera. I have already alluded to the sockets sunk in the adjoining rocks for votive stelæ. Just below the terrace, on which are the foundations, and a little to the north, Mr. Washington traced the remains of an extensive building; and these are no doubt the remains of the great inn which the Thebans built near the temple. With regard to the objects found in the ruins, the small clay figure is supposed to have been a votive copy of the seated statue of Hera by Kallimachos. This figurine has a veil over the head; and Hera, the bride of Zeus, was generally represented as veiled. Finally, the coin of Licinius would testify that the temple must have been still standing in his time—about a hundred and fifty years after Pausanias.

Such briefly is the able and ingenious argument, in which hardly a link is wanting, whereby Mr. Washington establishes the identity of his discovery with the famous Heræum of the Platæans. It is an achievement that reflects great credit on the American archæologist, who moreover upheld the honor of the School by prosecuting the exploration of Plataia to a definite conclusion. Even as it is, the foundations of the Heræum itself have not been entirely cleared of earth; and in archæological explorations only the complete clearance of a site can guarantee that all that may be found has actually been

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secured. It is this system of absolute thoroughness which the Germans adopted with such brilliant results at Olympia. It is the only safe and truly scientific system.

But, while Mr. Washington was assiduously toiling at Plataia, other undertakings had already engaged the attention of the Directors of the School. Early in 1889 certain unauthorized excavations made in the neighborhood of Eretria and, later, a more systematic exploration of its ancient necropolis, undertaken by the Greek Archæological Society, yielded a rich harvest of vases, terra-cotta figurines, and other considerable objects. Irrespective of these finds, however, both the historical fame of the city and its extant remains above ground were sufficient to invite serious attention. Therefore, in the summer of 1890 the American School obtained permission to explore this site also.

The ancient city of Eretria was situated on a small projection of the island of Eubœa, a little to the southwest of Chalcis, at a point where the Strait of Euripus, being only four miles broad, presents the aspect of an inland sea. Lying out of the beaten track of travellers and on a spot not easy of access, Eretria was seldom visited. Dodwell (ii. 154) and, more especially, Leake are, in this instance also, the best of modern guides. Leake, who states that "Eretria by means of its desolation has preserved remains affording an interesting confirmation of the former importance of the city," refers to the commanding towers of its acropolis, its city walls, and theatre, and to numerous foundations of buildings. These remains suffered considerably since Leake's time, owing to the fact that King Otho, attracted by its classic memories, chose the site of Eretria as a settlement for the survivors of the heroic island of Psara, which had been completely devastated by the Turks. The plan of a modern town was laid out within the area of the ancient walls and, on the rising ground, a naval school was erected for the young Psariot sailors; considerable quantities of the accessible old material being utilized in this abortive revival. The swamp fevers of the marsh, which had gradually extended to within the walls, rendered the place uninhabitable, especially during the hot season; so that at the present time about four hundred people tenant for part of the year some of the one hundred and fifty modern houses, which, in their turn, are now mostly in ruins.

It was in these surroundings that the Americans entered upon the exploration of Eretria on February 1, 1891. The first season's work, which, ending on March 20, was interfered with by rigorous weather, and included only twenty-eight days, was under the superintendence of the

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Annual Director of the School, Prof. Rufus Richardson, who undertook also the elucidation of inscriptions. Mr. A. Fossum, of Johns Hopkins University, and Mr. C. L. Brownson, of Yale, had charge of the excavation of the theatre; while Mr. J. Pickard, of Dartmouth College, and Mr. J. W. Gilbert, of Brown University, surveyed the walls of the city and produced an excellent topographical map of the district. Finally, Dr. Waldstein searched the extensive lines of graves outside the walls; making several interesting finds of vases and other small objects. The alleged finding of Aristotle's tomb, believed in and announced at first, but very properly withdrawn later, need not be referred to here.

Mr. Pickard's able "Topographical Study" has supplied ample details of the site and the ancient fortifications. The acropolis, at the northeastern corner, stands on an eminence 116 metres high, and forms an irregular enclosure 200 metres across. From it, two parallel walls, each about 1,200 metres in length, extend down to the harbor in irregular lines, 600 metres apart at their abutment. At intervals of about fifty-five yards they were dotted with towers 6 to 9 metres in diameter. Of these walls, the entire circuit of which is two and one-half miles, only the foundations remain. The walls and towers of the citadel however still stand, some four metres above ground; their imposing proportions, and the weather-worn surface of the huge blocks quarried from the bed-rock from which they rise, testifying to their great antiquity. A cross-wall separates the citadel from the lower city; and at this point, concealed under slight elevations of earth, are the remains of the towers which guarded the gates leading out into the Sacred Way. The course of this ancient road can be followed for miles to the east, by the multitude of graves which line it on either side. Finally, numerous remains of various other structures, marking the lines of the streets of the city, are still traceable on the steep hillsides.

Of the auditorium of the theatre, which stood lower down, close to the western wall, the entire area was found covered by a shroud of earth varying from 1 to 3 metres in depth; but the general outline of the *cavea* was easily discernible. The fact that the natural slope available higher up the hill had not been taken advantage of, as was almost invariably the case in Greek theatres, but that an artificial mound had been raised to support the rising rows of seats, suggested that the location of the theatre had been decided by the proximity of an ancient sanctuary of Dionysos. The *cavea* forms slightly more than half a circle, with a diameter, on the level of the orchestra, of 24.88

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metres, which is larger than the theatre at Athens (22.50) or at Epidauros (24.50); although the entire capacity of the *cavea* in each of these theatres is much greater. Of the thrones of the priests and officials, only fragments were discovered; but the front rows of the seats, which were found in fairly good preservation, are so low as to suggest that cushions were placed on them, as was undoubtedly the case in the Dionysiac theatre of Athens. The orchestra was overlaid with beaten earth only,—paving, such as is seen in Athens, having been introduced in Roman times,—and was bounded by a curb, between which and the lowest step the usual sunken drain carried off the rain-water into a subterranean aqueduct.

Independently of this, another tunnel-like passage, 13 metres in length and 2 in height, passes obliquely under the orchestra and abuts at its centre, into which it opens by a flight of steps. Similar steps give access to it from under the proscenium. The discovery of a feature so distinct and novel in the structural economy of a Greek theatre led, as we have seen in a previous article, to a closer investigation of a similar passage noticed at Sicyon, which, however, served there also as a drain. In the present case, the points of the theatre joined by means of this tunnel left no doubt that its purpose was to enable persons engaged in the performance to appear suddenly on the orchestra, before the spectators, and again disappear from view. Such apparitions would not have been compatible with the rôle of the chorus, whose movements to and from the orchestra are well defined. The inference therefore seemed conclusive that the secret passage was destined for the use of actors who, leaving the dressing-rooms in the rear of the proscenium, had to emerge in the orchestra as if from below.

There are situations in the Greek drama which, without the intervention of some such device, had been hitherto unintelligible. Some years prior to this discovery, Prof. Wilamowitz pointed out ("Hermes" [1886], xxi. 608) that it was necessary to conceive the existence of an *estrade* in the centre of the orchestra in order to understand aright that passage of the "Persians" (v. 619–675) of Æschylus, in which the chorus, urged by Atossa to call up the ghost of Darius, supplicate the powers of the lower world and invoke Darius to rise above the mound that covers his tomb. Darius appears in the midst of the chorus—who stand around his grave—and again vanishes from view. This and other passages in the Greek tragedies, such as the disappearance of Prometheus and the Oceanidæ in "Prometheus Bound," could have been represented satisfactorily only by the help of a concealed passage lead-

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ing to the centre of the orchestra: the stage itself of the Greek theatre offered no other suitable appliance. In an extant fragment of Æschylus's "Sisyphos," allusion is made to such subterraneous movement of the actor. Furthermore, the "Steps of Charon," of which Pollux ("Onomasticon," iv. 132) speaks, and as to the precise meaning of which there existed considerable divergence of opinion, can be explained intelligibly only by this latest discovery at Eretria. Subsequently to this, German archæologists found similar passages in the theatres of Magnesia and Tralles, in Asia Minor; and indications of a like structure are announced from Argos. All these evidences confirm the convincing explanation given by the American explorers of their discovery.

But the most important part of the Eretrian theatre is the stage-building. It is of importance on account of its elaborate design and the successive modifications it underwent, which serve as evidence of the developments in the architecture of the Greek theatre. Its remains range from the earliest polygonal masonry to work of the first century B.C. In its main dispositions it answers to the stage-building at Athens, with the exception of a vaulted passage running under its entire breadth on to the orchestra, to the probable use of which I shall refer presently. The plans of the theatre and its reconstruction, as drawn by Mr. Fossum, were approved and corroborated by Prof. Dörpfeld, who had visited the site. Their joint conclusions however gave rise to an animated controversy as to the economy of the Greek stage; Mr. E. A. Gardner, Director of the British School, Mr. Loring, and Miss Sellers expressing very divergent opinions. But Prof. Dörpfeld's profound study of the subject, as set forth in the exhaustive work which he published a few months ago, may, I think, be accepted as a safe guide.

The first season was now brought to a close. Twenty-eight days' work on a site of such vast possibilities could not have amounted to much more than tentative search. A second campaign was therefore undertaken in January, 1892, under Prof. W. C. Poland, then Annual Director, who, accompanied by Messrs. Brownson and Fox, continued, for a short while, the clearing of the theatre. But the work still lagged; the centre of interest having again been transferred by Dr. Waldstein to Argos. Nothing further was done during the ensuing year; but on May 3, 1894, Prof. Richardson, accompanied by Messrs. E. Capps, O. S. Hill, C. Peabody, and Prof. Phillips, resumed the exploration with as much judgment as success.

The conjecture, that the location of the theatre was determined by a

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preëxisting sanctuary of Dionysos in the vicinity, was now to be tested. Attracted by some hewn stones, protruding from among the bushes, some sixty feet to the southwest of the theatre, Prof. Richardson dug trenches, which, in the course of the first forenoon, revealed the platform of a building about 12.50 by 23 metres. The disposition of these foundations, which lay a couple of feet beneath the surface, indicated a temple. No vestige was found of the marble superstructure. It must have invited destruction by its exposed position, and must have disappeared in the lime-kilns which now yawn near the theatre. Some fourteen metres to the east of this platform another large foundation—the nature of which had puzzled the excavators of 1891 and had been considerably disturbed on the supposition that it was a tomb—was now completely cleared. From its form, and position in connection with the temple, it was inferred that it supported the great altar of the deity there worshipped. As it stands to the rear of the stage and directly opposite the vaulted passage which runs under it, it would appear that that passage served as an entrance for the procession of priests, officials, actors, and chorus who, after the sacrificial rites, marched in pomp from the sacred precincts on to the orchestra. "Nowhere else in Greece can one see the group of the three structures that belonged to the well-organized worship of Dionysos—temple, altar, and theatre—so well preserved as here."

On the other, the western, side of the temple, a stylobate 20 metres long and 1.20 wide was found to extend obliquely to the north, in the direction of the theatre. Close to this foundation four marble bases and some fragments of columns were discovered. It was clear they supported choragic monuments; the whole forming a kind of gallery between the sacred precincts and the theatre. The fragments of four inscriptions, subsequently unearthed, left no doubt that the monuments commemorated victories in dramatic and musical contests celebrated in the theatre. No inscription was found confirmatory of the conjecture that the site was that of the sanctuary of Dionysos; but the grouping of these monuments with the temple and the theatre forced that conclusion upon the explorers.

The one great sanctuary, however, was, as already stated, the temple of Artemis Amarysia—a title under which Artemis was worshipped also in Attica, where it survives in the name of the village of Maroussi. That temple was not only the chief shrine of the Eretrians, but, as Livy states, a pilgrimage for the inhabitants of Karystos. Prof. Richardson therefore sought to determine this most important question

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of Eretrian topography. Strabo says that the village of Amarynthus was seven stadia outside the walls; and he refers to the temple of the Amarynthian Artemis. The seven stadia thus vaguely mentioned have been supposed by successive archæologists to lie in every imaginable direction. Some thirty years ago the Greek authorities acquired an important inscription bearing the text of a treaty between Eretria and Histiæa, and prescribing that it should be set up at Amarynthus,—obviously in the great temple which, as was customary among the Greeks, was also the public record office. The precise spot in Eubœa where this inscription was found was never ascertained; but it is believed to have been Bathia. But Bathia is at a much greater distance than seven stadia from Eretria. A little beyond the seven stadia, however, to the east of the walls,—a direction which Prof. Richardson considered likely on other grounds,—an isolated hill known as Kotroni rises out of the plain; and as the geographer Stephanus of Byzantium writes "Amarynthus = *νῆσος*" (an island), Prof. Richardson concluded that this definition might refer to the isolated hill, much in the way that the "island of Oëroë" is spoken of by Herodotus (ix. 51) as lying in the battle-field of Plataia. Moreover, an old church stood on a terrace at the foot of Kotroni; and some inscribed slabs had been found there. These considerations urged Prof. Richardson, who had already visited the spot in 1891, to explore it now. But two days' work with a considerable force of workmen revealed no other Hellenic remains than a couple of sepulchral inscriptions. The great and renowned temple of Artemis, therefore, is still to be sought and found.

Meanwhile in the city itself progress was made in clearing additional portions of the theatre. Between the theatre and the naval school of King Otho some walls, which appeared above the surface, were excavated, revealing the continuous foundations of houses on either side of a street, and, in one case, a fine floor of cement and pebbles. Search trenches were dug on the plateau of the citadel, but without material result. Finally, diggings were made at the foot of the acropolis, one hundred and seventy-five metres to the east of the theatre, where a protruding block attracted Prof. Richardson's attention. A set of four "tubs" or tanks, inlaid with stucco and connected by water-conduits, was found here, backed against a wall twenty feet in length. The entire aspect of this spot—to which the humorous designation of "the city laundry" was provisionally given—and the fact that a well-preserved male statue, now in the Central Museum at Athens, was unearthed here in 1885, promised well for further search.

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At this point, after a sojourn of three weeks, which furnished only fourteen working-days, the season's operations were brought to a close. For so short a campaign, the results attained were not inconsiderable. The topographical information alone entitled Prof. Richardson to write:

"In the case of such an important city, and one whose history interests us so deeply, of which no ancient writer has given us any description, this is more of an addition to our archæological information than the discovery of a whole town in Macedonia or Cappadocia."

Still, the excavation of the theatre remained, after the lapse of four years, an incomplete undertaking. Like the theatre at Thorikos, it stood in unpleasant "contrast to the theatre at Megapolis so faultlessly excavated by the British School." And this was the more noticeable, since the archæological importance of the Eretrian theatre attracted the yearly visits of Prof. Dörpfeld's touring students. "It must be done by the Americans," Mr. Capps wrote, "if they wish to be looked upon by archæologists as thoroughly competent and conscientious excavators." Prof. Richardson, therefore, commenced, on May 20, 1895, a fourth campaign of four weeks, with the result that, finally, under the intelligent superintendence of Mr. T. W. Heermance, the theatre was freed entirely of its shroud of earth.

The mysterious "city laundry" engaged the personal attention of Prof. Richardson, who, on proceeding to clear the ground, found the four "tubs" resting on the cemented floor of a large room. This was connected with several other rooms forming, around an open court, a large building one hundred and fifty feet square. Its general disposition, another row of smaller tanks,—possibly foot-baths,—and the liberal system of water-supply within it, suggested that it was a gymnasium. This conjecture was soon placed beyond doubt by the discovery of a marble base with an inscription commemorating the athletic victory of a youth, whose statue had stood on it. Two other inscriptions of greater importance were soon unearthed. The one, quite perfect and consisting of forty-nine lines, was recovered under circumstances which indicate the discrimination and care that must govern archæological research. A stone, supposed to form a step, was covered, during a heavy rainstorm, with a layer of liquid mud, which, drying rapidly under the hot sun, revealed a little moulding. This attracted the attention of Prof. Richardson, who found the stone to end in a sort of gable. On its being raised off the ground, the earth under it had taken the impression of the inscription so perfectly that it could be read almost as easily as from the stone.

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In this inscription Eretria records the honors conferred on Epinikos, the son of Nikomachos, a gymnasiarch, who furnished the funds for prizes in contests and was at pains to procure oil of the finest quality for anointing the gymnasts. For these and other services it is enacted, "to the end that all may know that the state is not ungrateful, and that the public may have many emulators of his example," that "Epinikos receive a crown of olive and that the decree be cut on a marble stele which shall be set up in the gymnasium in the most conspicuous place." The "most conspicuous place" was, no doubt, the exact spot where the inscription was found. It is also recorded of Epinikos that he procured at his own expense a teacher of eloquence and, what we may designate in modern parlance, a drill-sergeant. The other inscription refers in similar terms to another donor, Mantidoros, who furnished a Homeric philologist, Dionysios, the son of Philotas, an Athenian, for the instruction of the youth who frequented the gymnasium.

In addition to these highly interesting inscriptions, which date from the middle of the second century B. C., several pieces of sculpture were found; notably a bearded head of Dionysos, of archaic type, resembling the one in the Central Museum. Also the upper part of a youthful head, belonging to a good period, and, finally, the upper two-thirds of a massive head of a man. On seeing the latter fragment the Greek Ephor at Eretria declared that it must be the missing part of a bust the lower portion of which was in the local museum. As a matter of fact, the two fragments fitted perfectly. Reunited, after centuries of separation, they may now be seen at Athens as one of the best and most characteristic portrait busts which adorn the Central Museum. Of the minor objects found, several coins are noteworthy; especially one bearing a wreathed head of Hercules and, on the reverse, a trireme upon water. It dates back probably to the pre-Persian days of Eretria's *thalassocratia*—her supremacy at sea.

The American exploration of Eretria was thus brought to a close—creditably, thanks to Prof. Richardson's labors. But the whole site is still teeming with important remains a few feet under the surface. The American archæologists had here the opportunity of achieving, by concentrated and systematic work, results analogous to those of the exploration of Olympia. But other counsels had already committed the School to the excavations at Argos. Argos and the other work accomplished by the American School up to the present time will form the subject of my next and concluding article.

J. GENNADIUS.

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THE CASE OF CAPTAIN DREYFUS.

THE Frenchman who believes himself to be independent, a reformer, and given to incredulity, still preserves a faith and a superstition: a superstition in the forms of justice as they are practised in France; an absolute faith in every man who, temporarily or habitually, discharges the duties of a magistrate. The *bourgeoisie* and the people have brought about revolutions, erected barricades, poured out their blood in overturning four thrones within a century, but, nevertheless, submit without protest to the tyranny of some hundreds of men who are examining magistrates. These magistrates are answerable to themselves alone; and the law delivers into their hands without any responsibility the life, liberty, and honor of their fellow-citizens. Any man whose life may be blameless, should he be accused by the most degraded of beings, comes under their jurisdiction. At a word from them he is cut off from the rest of the world, imprisoned in a dungeon, becomes a slave, the victim of an inquisitor with unlimited powers. It is through this inquisitor that his friends are acquainted of the accusation against him, that the public press is informed, and public opinion instructed. He can obtain no lawyer to defend him until the day of trial, when he appears in court to listen to a clerk read the proposal that he be condemned to isolation, or to examination by a crafty and unscrupulous cross-questioner, the nature of whose office has destroyed in him all sense of morality.

However, occasionally on the day of trial an accused man may be allowed to defend himself; at least he may speak and find those who are willing to listen. They have tortured him; but they allow him to speak. Above the heads of his judges and beyond them he may obtain an audience and make known the truth. At any rate those who hear him have under their eyes the factors in the case. They are able to judge for themselves, to form an opinion. The prosecution and the defence are conducted in public. That is guaranteed. What becomes of that guarantee when, after a secret examination, he who should be before the eyes of all as a prisoner on trial is judged behind closed doors?

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Such proceedings, however, are commonly accepted. They satisfy the great majority of citizens; and if there be a dissatisfied minority, they keep silence. Strange contradiction! Those minds which scientific cultivation and a habit of criticism have accustomed to verify every statement with the utmost care,—these are they who most readily base their opinion on statements impossible of proof. They place in men who happen to be public functionaries a confidence which they withhold from the wisest authorities and greatest philosophers; and this confidence is bestowed all the more readily because the sentences of these men flatter their prejudices, or rather their passions. Suppose, now, that these prejudices and passions of the public are carefully played upon day by day; imagine a tribunal equally possessed, a stranger to every idea of legality, and ignorant, I will not say of the tricks of procedure, but of the laws which it is temporarily charged to administer; know that the judges composing it are of all men the least independent, that they are influenced by codes and points of honor which render them incapable of understanding even the meaning of justice! Take, now, a man belonging to a class especially exposed to general malevolence; accuse him of a crime capable of arousing the fanaticism of the mob, since it wounds not only an individual, but the class to which he belongs; put that man in close confinement; render it impossible for him to defend himself; and then, with the aid of every falsehood and calumny, let loose upon him the fiercest anger and hatred. Bring him before the tribunal of which I have just spoken; remembering that the men who compose it are those who are most particularly injured by the crime of which the prisoner has been accused. Close the door of the court-room. Keep every voice from being heard; remember, finally, that all rights of defence have been withheld; and then, to crown all, knowing nothing of the accusation, affirm that the accused is guilty.

It may seem that I have, in jest, set forth the greatest improbabilities. Nevertheless every condition that I have named actually exists. There is a man—Capt. Dreyfus—who has been arrested, accused, judged, and condemned, without the knowledge upon what ground he was arrested; of what he was accused; how he was judged; or why he was condemned. In spite of this, public opinion has unhesitatingly pronounced him guilty, has heaped upon him its anger and execration. The instinct of self-defence has not impelled any citizen to arise and say: "No man should be arrested, judged, condemned in this way. If such proceedings are allowed it is at the expense of each man's

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liberty. I declare that man *a priori* innocent, since I know not of what crime he has been accused, and am ignorant of the charges presented against him, of the manner in which he has inculpated himself, and of the defence which he has to offer. I am accustomed to use my own judgment in all matters, and I cannot have the judgment of another imposed on me without the possibility of testing it."

They would have answered such an objector: "You are a bad citizen; for you do not take into account the quality of the tribunal which has pronounced sentence. Is it not a military tribunal? And can you believe that the seven officers composing it are capable of being mistaken?"

That is indeed the final argument, the peremptory response in every country largely controlled by the military; where the army remains the last and most redoubtable of fetiches; where a man, simply because he wears a uniform, is regarded as incorruptible and infallible. "But," you say, "if the army be an object of so much respect in France, how was it that when Capt. Dreyfus was accused of treason a great outcry was not raised against the accusation? Why did not that officer find friends eager to defend him?" Because that obsidional fever with which the nation had been burning for twenty-seven years, and which exists in all countries beneath the régime of an armed peace, was excited to an incredible degree.

"That is not sufficient reason," you say, "for the horrible hatred which has been showered upon him. What is the cause of this?" Have I not said that Capt. Dreyfus belonged to a class of pariahs? He was a soldier; but he was also a Jew: and it is on this account that he has been thus prosecuted. That is why his trial is a story of passion. On account of it his cause becomes not merely a national affair, but one which concerns humanity. It creates an interest in one who was the victim of prejudice, not only among his compatriots, but among all men,—who are his brothers, since they are human beings.

Is then Capt. Dreyfus innocent? He is innocent. What proof can I give of it? Those who care to go over his trial with me to the end; to follow, step by step, its developments; to keep pace with the examination; to expose the accusation; to dispute the complaints and sentence;—those will be able to answer that question for themselves.

In 1894, if we may accept the statement of one of the witnesses at the Dreyfus trial, Commandant Henry notified the Minister of War that certain documents and notes had been betrayed to foreign Powers.

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This in itself was not an unusual occurrence; and to account for it, it is but necessary to study the process of international espionage essential to and the corollary of militarism. Why then was it considered a matter of so much importance on this occasion? Because it was known that treason was charged against an officer. How was this known? Because, according to the deposition of Commandant Henry, a reliable person had informed him of it. Who was that reliable person? No one has ever known. They have refused to give his name, to make him appear as a witness. Thus the accusation rests upon the affirmation of an unknown man whose assertions have never been submitted to proof. Following the declaration of the mysterious one, a rigid surveillance, it is said, was established at the bureau of the minister. The officers were closely followed. Nothing was discovered until the day when Col. Sandher, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, sent to the Minister of War, Gen. Mercier, an unsigned letter—a memorandum of a packet of papers. On receipt of that letter, the handwriting of the officers was examined and compared with that of the memorandum and, no result having been obtained, the Commandant Du Paty de Clam, who, it appeared, had special graphological knowledge, was appealed to. He, after an examination, affirmed that the handwriting in the letter resembled that of Capt. Dreyfus. The memorandum was then sent successively to two experts—M. Gobert, expert to the Bank of France, and M. Bertillon, Commissary of Police, chief of the *Service de l' Identité judiciare.* M. Gobert, after studying the two handwritings, declared that the incriminating letter could have been written by a person other than the one suspected. M. Bertillon affirmed that the same person had written all the matter sent to him.

Having obtained these two contradictory reports, the Minister of War ordered the arrest of Capt. Dreyfus. Without hesitation Gen. Mercier had a man imprisoned on the testimony of an expert in handwriting.

Did the past conduct of Capt. Dreyfus warrant such action? Were any charges formulated against him, of which the expert testimony of M. Bertillon was merely a confirmation? No. Nothing in the life of Capt. Dreyfus justified even a shadow of suspicion. He was an Alsatian, belonging to a family of Alsatian *protestaires* of Mulhouse, the members of which had frequently been banished from Alsace by the German government.

He had entered the Ecole Polytechnique at the age of eighteen; he had been one of the most brilliant scholars at the École de Guerre;

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and his enemies had never been able to represent him as other than an active and ambitious officer. He was not in need, but rich. He was married, the father of two children; and the accusation itself has established the fact that his life was a well-regulated one. His accusers have never been able to prove that he kept suspicious company, carried on an unusual correspondence, or led a mysterious life. Nevertheless, the statement of a man with a mania for graphology was sufficient to throw into prison one whose honesty and uprightness were unassailable.

On October 15, 1894, Capt. Dreyfus, summoned by the Minister of War, was placed under arrest by M. Cochefort, *Chef de la Sûreté*, and by Commandant Henry, attached to the bureau of information of the minister. This arrest had been preceded by a melodramatic comedy planned by Commandant Du Paty de Clam. It consisted in reading to Capt. Dreyfus a letter containing some of the sentences in the memorandum which he was accused of having written. M. Du Paty de Clam, a remarkable psychologist, thought that he observed certain expressions of uneasiness in Capt. Dreyfus; and later on it was maintained that it was this manifest evidence of guilt which had brought about the arrest.

As a matter of fact, if the arrest was made on October 15, the warrant for the arrest was dated the previous day, when the accusation must have been based solely upon the affirmation of an expert in handwriting. On his arrest, Capt. Dreyfus was taken to the prison of Cherche-Midi, and, his name having been entered on the books, a warrant was issued to search his house. The search was fruitless. Everything was examined, however, including the private correspondence of the Captain and books of household expenses; but nothing was found. He was then simply a prisoner. Commandant Du Paty de Clam was delegated by the Minister of War as officer of the judiciary of police, and charged with the conduct of the examination. For seventeen days Capt. Dreyfus was kept in close confinement, and his wife was forbidden to mention his arrest to his relatives—even those most closely related. For seventeen days he was kept ignorant of the charge against him; which is the usual custom in such cases. And what was the nature of the examination? It consisted simply in questioning Capt. Dreyfus and his wife in regard to the most varied subjects. No witness was heard. As for the inquiry, it was intrusted principally to the lowest police officials, whose reports bore such evidence of falsehood that they could not be accepted by the public prosecutor.

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After seventeen days the proofs of guilt were prepared by Commandant Du Paty de Clam: they had no other basis than that of personal impressions. They were sufficient, however, as the bench was satisfied. A second examining magistrate was named and ordered to draw up the charges. This magistrate, Commandant Besson D'Ormescheville, took up the inquiry and summoned twenty-two witnesses. The testimony of the latter and the police examinations lasted two months. When finished, no result was arrived at: not a single charge could be made from them; and when Capt. Dreyfus was brought before the court-martial he was accused, as on the first day, without proofs, on the mere statement of experts in handwriting, of having written a memorandum relative to documents betrayed to a foreign Power. Why, under such circumstances, was not a verdict of "Not proven" handed down? What was it that urged on the examining officers, the staff, the minister, and the government itself? Public opinion. Who was responsible for the state of that opinion? The entire press. What was the attitude of the press? It was scandalous; and it was positively stated that all the newspapers were subject to the terrorism of the anti-Semitic journal, "La Libre Parole," sustained by clerical and anti-Jewish papers, such as "La Croix," and various jingo publications. On October 31, a notice in "La Libre Parole," mysteriously communicated, stated that an officer accused of high treason was detained at the prison of Cherche-Midi, and that this officer was a Jew. The next day the accused was "the traitor Dreyfus"; and the most bitter, most abominable campaign had begun.

No one knew the charges brought against this man; and he was precondemned. The most contradictory and hostile reports were published in the press. Capt. Dreyfus, it was said, had been a traitor ever since he entered the army; he was a traitor at Fontainebleau, at Mons, at Paris, at the École de Guerre, and finally at the office of the Staff, which he had entered only for treasonable purposes. The mob was delighted with the statement that the Captain had betrayed to a foreigner the names of officers sent on special missions, the secrets of mobilization, transport, and concentration of troops. He had been seen at work at Monaco, Nice, London, Brussels, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and the frontier towns. He frequented "flash" resorts, gambled everywhere, followed the races; performing, at the same time, his regular duties at the Ministry of War, and discharging the ordinary obligations, which his dissimulation demanded. It was stated that he had always been an object of suspicion; that his habits of life were loose.

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Some said that he was ruined, and head over ears in debt; others that he was a millionaire, with property at Bordeaux, Bourges, and houses in Paris, bought with funds for which he could not account. It is a noteworthy fact that some of these statements were found in the secret reports of the police and recognized as false too late, extracts from them being given to well-known anti-Semitic papers by the men who were most directly concerned in the examination and who had thus influenced public opinion. At the same time in "La Croix," in "La Libre Parole," and in several other newspapers following their example, the most furious diatribes were hurled against the Jews,—the hated race to which Dreyfus belonged. The term Israelite was a synonym for traitor. Cartoons were circulated, representing on one side Judas betraying Christ, and on the other, Dreyfus receiving a bag of gold from Germany. Amusing contradiction,—had it not appeared in connection with so tragic an affair,—that the Jew without a country should be represented as an ardent German! It was stated that his brothers—those who had been driven from Alsace as *protestaires*—were officers in the Prussian army.

Every day sensational news was printed in large type. One day the traitor had accomplices, and they had been discovered; the next, he had been betraying for years the most important secrets,—he himself had avowed this with the most revolting cynicism. Public opinion was sustained at the highest pitch, blinding the least prejudiced. No defence, no appeal to the good sense and impartiality of the public, were permitted in any newspaper. Through fear of the anti-Semitic howling, the press, which boasts of its independence, kept silence.

The Jew Dreyfus was helpless against the will of the anti-Semitic mob. From the day on which the public was informed of the arrest and imprisonment of the Captain, it had predeclared the impossibility of any defence. Anti-Semitic papers and clerical publications, lying without scruple, had built up a great conspiracy. The whole body of Israelitish citizens was represented as devoted to Germany and hating France; as desirous of saving not an innocent man, but one well known to be guilty. Apocryphal stories invented in the newspaper offices were circulated deliberately and shamelessly. A fortune had been offered to the experts; it had been sought to influence the magistrates; when the magistrates entered the court-room, unconsciously a prejudice had taken possession of them, distorting their judgment; they dared not lend themselves to clemency for fear of being accused of corruption. In fact, of the case of Capt. Dreyfus was created a formidable anti-

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Semitic and clerical war-machine, which was made good use of. For if the names of Triponé, Bonnet, de Schwartz, Boilot, Guillot—all condemned for treason or espionage—are passed over in silence, the name of Dreyfus is heard constantly. They intend to make of it a synonym for treason, and the symbol of a race.

Did those who knew the truth, who were aware of the innocence of the unfortunate man thus exposed to the hatred of all, do anything to allay the torrent of anger and hatred? On the contrary, they submitted to anti-Semitic terrorism, not daring to resist it; or rather, by adding to it, they took advantage of the patriotic excitement and by flattering it endeavored to restore their diminished influence and waning popularity.

It was proclaimed everywhere that Capt. Dreyfus was a traitor in behalf of Germany; and this statement was made at the time of the trial during the earliest examination by Commandant Du Paty de Clam. It is true that the unknown who had delivered that memorandum to Col. Sandher, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, had stated that it came from the German Ambassador. Three depositions were made by M. de Munster, the German Ambassador,—to M. Casimir-Périer, President of the Republic, to M. Dupuis, President of the Council, and to M. Hanotaux, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Three times, and to each of these men, the Ambassador stated that neither this memorandum nor the documents mentioned in it had ever been at the German Embassy; and that never, directly or indirectly, had Capt. Dreyfus been in communication with the German government. Finally he offered himself as a witness before the court-martial. Dreading the violence of the attacks from the low patriotic press, the government took no further notice of these depositions than to publish through the Havas agency two ambiguous articles, which the government newspapers carefully relegated to their third page.

That was not all. The Minister of War publicly took part in the question. Forgetting—or perhaps remembering—the influence which he would have on the military judges, Gen. Mercier permitted himself to be interviewed from the earliest days of the examination. On November 28, 1894, he said to the editor of "Le Figaro," M. Leser:—

"I submitted to the President of the Council and to my colleagues the overwhelming evidence which was communicated to me; and the arrest of Capt. Dreyfus was immediately ordered. Many inexact statements have been written on this subject. It has been said that Capt. Dreyfus offered secret documents to the Italian government. That is a mistake. I cannot say more because the examination is not yet concluded. It is only necessary to repeat that the guilt of this officer is absolutely certain, and that he has had civilian accomplices."

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Inspired from the same source, M. Leser added: "At the Staff Office it is known, on reliable authority, that Dreyfus has been in communication for three years with the agents of a foreign Power, which was neither the Italian government nor that of Austria-Hungary." Not a word of this was true. Gen. Mercier had in his possession only the contradictory statements of the experts. As for the "overwhelming evidence" referred to,—neither the indictment nor the documents contain a trace of it. Nor is anything found therein regarding the civilian accomplices and the pretended relations of Capt. Dreyfus with the agents of a foreign Power. Gen. Mercier knowingly uttered a falsehood; and in thus taking part against an accused man, unable to defend himself publicly, he was guilty of the most odious, unprecedented, disloyal, and cowardly action. He violated the most elementary principles of equity. He dictated, in advance, a judgment to his subordinates, too readily inclined by training to accept the statements of their superior officers. He suborned justice, rendered a defence impossible, deceived public opinion, and was instrumental in surrounding the prisoner with an atmosphere of prejudice, and in directing a current of condemnation, which could lead only to conviction.

Why did he act thus? To avoid admitting with what incredible, unjustifiable readiness he had proceeded to arrest a man on no other ground than the word of an expert; also from personal motives.

What was the position of Gen. Mercier before the campaign against Dreyfus? The case of Turpin had lowered him in the estimation of moderate patriots. For the journals of the opposition he was "l'homme au flair d'artilleur." He was attacked by "L'Intransigeant," "La Patrie," "La Presse," and "La Libre Parole." His position in the Dupuis cabinet was compromised. The Dreyfus case gave him the opportunity of reinstating himself. From the day that it was made public, official notes printed in the newspapers represented Gen. Mercier as the paragon of patriotism. It was he who, in opposition to ministers, had advocated steadfastly the arrest of the "traitor." He had been opposed on all sides. He had threatened to appeal to France, to the outraged country; and his soldierly strength of purpose and his loyalty had forced the hands of his colleagues. Subjected to attacks, supplications, and threats, he had remained obdurate. The same papers which a month before had rolled him in the dust now placed him on a pinnacle. They proclaimed that the patriots could feel secure so long as Gen. Mercier was in power; they represented him as followed by the animosity of the other ministers; and defied them to rid themselves

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of the patriotic general. The rôle that he thus assumed he continued to play after the Captain was condemned.

I have pointed out the state of public opinion at the time of Capt. Dreyfus's appearance before his judges, and how they, through the pressure brought to bear upon them by the press, through fear of placing their honor under suspicion, and through the influence of their superior officers, found themselves in a most awkward situation, and one the least appropriate to the exercise of justice. Most of the military judges had a very indefinite understanding of the case submitted to them. Some, when it came to a ballot for condemnation or acquittal, refrained from voting. Of the others the majority voted for condemnation, not on the proofs submitted to them, for there were none, but on the affirmations of their superior officers that such proofs existed.

When, on December 19, 1894, Capt. Dreyfus appeared before the court-martial no charge rested upon him. After four days of debate behind closed doors, it was concluded that he had no suspicious relations; that his travels to foreign countries, the riches which he could not account for, his poverty, gambling habits, and relations with women, —were all fabrications. The commissioner of the government, Commandant Brisset, declared that he was unable to find any motive that could have actuated Capt. Dreyfus to treason. He refuted all the lies and calumnies contained in the police reports, and recognized the perfect honesty of the accused man, and the uprightness of his life.

Of what, then, was Capt. Dreyfus accused on that day? Of having forwarded documents to a foreign embassy. What were the proofs brought forward? A letter, a sort of memorandum, containing a list of the documents delivered. That letter, repudiated by the Captain, was, it was said, in his handwriting. Three experts substantiated this, and two denied it; and it was on this unique testimony that they condemned the man. What did that memorandum contain? Here are the text and the facsimile, together with facsimiles of the handwriting of Capt. Dreyfus both before the accusation and after he was condemned. These letters will enable independent and unprejudiced graphologists to form an opinion.

TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT.

"In the absence of any intimation of your desire to see me, I now send you certain information of interest.

(1) A note on the hydraulic brake of 120. (Method of operating.)

(2) A note on *les troupes de couverture.* (Certain changes will be made by the new plan.)

(3) A note on the changes in artillery formations.

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(4) A note relating to Madagascar.

(5) The project relative to the manual of field-firing, March 14, 1894.

This last paper is very hard to procure and I can have it at my disposal but for a few days. The minister has issued to the corps a definite number; and they are responsible for them. Each officer is obliged to return his copy after the manœuvres. If, therefore, you wish me to take from it such facts as are of interest to you, and hold them at your disposal, I will obtain it, provided you do not wish me to make a copy *in extenso*, and address it to you.

I am on my way to the manœuvres."

How did this paper get into the hands of the minister? According to more or less contradictory reports, it was found among the waste papers at the German Embassy,—papers which a servant had been in the habit of selling to rag-men, who were no other than agents of the bureau of information of the Minister of War. How much importance is to be attached to this story? It is certain that this memorandum was written on a simple sheet of paper, torn into four pieces, and carefully put together,—a sheet of thin bank post paper, specially watermarked, of which no specimen was found at the house of Capt. Dreyfus. What then was the value of this paper as a basis for accusation? The recognition of the authenticity of a handwriting is not in itself sufficient to justify a serious accusation. Furthermore it should be noted that, according to the accusing reports themselves, the handwriting in the memorandum does not resemble that of Capt. Dreyfus. It is different. But M. Bertillon, the so-called expert, and prejudiced agent of the government,—whose testimony is therefore inadmissible,—concluded that he ought to form a hypothesis on the subject. He, therefore, declared that if there were differences in the handwriting they had been purposely introduced by Capt. Dreyfus.

So, apart from the testimony of these graphologists, so open to contest, and upon which it is impossible to base an accusation, without further proof than this testimony, there is no evidence that Capt. Dreyfus ever had in his hands the documents in question, or that he had the material necessary to compile the notes contained in the memorandum. Further, the contrary has been proved.

The commissioner of the government, discharging the functions of a public minister, stated that no proof could be found during the course of the trial. On one point, the knowledge of "the project relative to the manual of field-firing," the indictment said: "Capt. Dreyfus acknowledged during the first cross-examination that he had held several conversations with a superior officer of the second bureau of the army staff." The indictment lied. Capt. Dreyfus stated that he had spoken

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with that officer—Commandant Jeannel—on a totally different subject. He asked to be confronted with him. The request was refused; a similar refusal being given to the request to have Commandant Jeannel produced at the trial. Why? Because Commandant Jeannel had substantiated the statement of Capt. Dreyfus,—which, however, did not prevent the false statement from being retained in the indictment. It can now be affirmed that there is not in the papers, and there was not produced at the trial, any other charge than the actual existence of the document in question.

It is not necessary to establish the genuineness of that document. Its very nature shows it to be spurious. If a traitor actually existed, what need had he to send with his papers a useless commercial and compromising memorandum. Usually it is a spy's first care to destroy every trace of his acts. If he gives up papers, he puts them in the hands of a trusted go-between; but he never writes. How would such a memorandum, with the documents mentioned in it, ever reach its destination? By the post? What folly! Through a go-between? Who is he? And besides, in either case, where was the need of a memorandum?

Now look at the document itself! It is written by an illiterate person, by one ignorant of the common modes of expression. Capt. Dreyfus was no such person. Furthermore, it is written by someone ignorant of ordinary military terms, especially those relating to the artillery.

Let me now sum up. Capt. Dreyfus was arrested on the contradictory findings of two experts. For seventeen days he was kept in ignorance of the charges made against him. The examination was conducted in a most high-handed manner by Commandant Du Paty de Clam, and was planned by M. Besson d'Ormescheville. It had no other result than to show the absolute groundlessness of the charges made against Capt. Dreyfus, and the falsehoods of the police reports, which were exposed by witnesses and which the prosecution dared not accept.

Where did the paper on which the accusation rests come from? According to the report of M. Besson d'Ormescheville, Gen. Gonse, in delivering it at the office of Police Judiciary M. Du Paty de Clam, asserted that it had been addressed to a foreign Power; that it had come into his hands; but that, in obedience to official directions from the Minister of War, he could not say through what means he had obtained possession of it. At the trial, M. Du Paty de Clam made it clearly understood that it came from the German Embassy. Thus, the prosecution did not know how this undated, unsigned paper left the hands

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of the inculpated man. The defence did not know through what channels it came from the embassy which had had possession of it. To whom was the letter addressed? Who stole and forwarded it? No answer has been given to either of these questions.

During the two months' inquiry was it discovered that Capt. Dreyfus had had suspicious dealings? No. This strange document said, however, "In the absence of any intimation that you desire to see me." Did he see, then, this mysterious correspondent? His manner of living was carefully looked into. He was followed. All his actions were investigated; and no compromising associations could be discovered. His correspondence was examined. M. Du Paty de Clam forced from Mme. Dreyfus the letters which she had received from the Captain during their engagement. This examination was of no service to the prosecution. No fact had been discovered on which to base the charge that Capt. Dreyfus had had any dealings with the agent of a foreign Power *even in the service of the Staff Office.*

At the hearing, the depositions of the witnesses were of no importance. They were but personal estimations of the character of Capt. Dreyfus. Some said that he was a braggart and a prattler; others represented him as taciturn and conceited. Was a motive given for such an odious action? What led Capt. Dreyfus to commit an act of treason? On that point the prosecution was silent.

Was he in need? No: he was rich. Had he passions and vices to indulge? None. Was he avaricious? No. He spent his money freely, and had not added to his property. Was he an invalid, a creature of impulse, capable of acting without reason? No: he was self-possessed, a man of character, courage, and energy. What strong motive led this fortunate man to thus risk all his happiness? None. To this man, with no motive for an evil deed, with no accusing fact against him, whom the examination showed to be upright, a hard worker, leading a regular and worthy life,—to this man a mysterious paper was shown. It was said to him: "You wrote this. Three experts declare it, two deny it." This man, appealing to his past career, affirmed that he had committed no such act. He asserted his innocence. The uprightness of his life was acknowledged; and yet on the contradictory testimony of these experts in handwriting he was condemned to life-long exile.

As a matter of fact, that alone would not have been sufficient to condemn him. With that single charge against him the court-martial would have acquitted him. Why then was he condemned? Because

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in the Council Chamber Gen. Mercier, in defiance of the strictest rules of equity, presented to the judges, it is said, a document which rendered certain the guilt of the accused.

This document Capt. Dreyfus and his lawyer were ignorant of. It was never submitted to them. They were unable to estimate its value. They could not discuss it. What was this document? In "L'Eclair," in an article which appeared on September 15, 1896, its existence was first brought to notice, as a means of putting an end to the doubt which existed and still exists in many minds. There existed, it was said, a letter in cypher written by an attaché of the German Embassy at Paris to a colleague of the Embassy at Rome,—a letter which contained this sentence: "Truly that animal Dreyfus becomes very exacting."

How much of this is to be believed? It is in part true. It is true that a document was shown to the judges, and that it referred to a letter. "L'Eclair" was well informed; which is not remarkable since it procured the information from Gen. Mercier, who took part once more in the debates in regard to the Dreyfus case. After the false news of his escape, in September, 1896, certain papers, "Le Jour," "L'Autorité," and others, insinuated that Capt. Dreyfus had been convicted upon insufficient proofs in an unjustifiable manner, and that his guilt could not be affirmed. Then Gen. Mercier thought that he ought to take part in the discussion. He did so by inspiring the articles in "L'Eclair," and, as he lied to M. Leser, when interviewed by him at the time of the trial ("Figaro," November 28, 1894), so he now lied again. In fact the letter attributed to the German military attaché (M. de Munster repudiated it on three occasions) was written not in cypher, but in French—How probable!—and the sentence which it contained was this: "*And that rascal D., is he always so exacting?*" Further, it had been sent to the Minister of War through the Office of Foreign Affairs, not in September, a few days before the discovery of the memorandum, as Gen. Mercier stated, but eight months previously. "L'Eclair" also stated that Capt. Dreyfus was suspected immediately. Gen. Mercier told another lie. When that letter came to the bureau of information, but little importance was attached to it. They contented themselves with suspecting a concierge of the Minister of War whose name began with the letter D; but the theory was abandoned. The letter was filed, and only left the office of the Minister of War when it was needed to find a conviction against Dreyfus. Up to the present time no one has denied the existence of that letter.

Mme. Dreyfus having, through a petition to the Chamber, protested

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against the methods of procedure in her husband's case, and having asked for another trial, received an answer, indefinite, *confuse*, and dishonest, ignoring the grounds of her petition, and confined to affirming the horror which treason should inspire.

Thus it was established that the conviction of Capt. Dreyfus without proof of his guilt was brought about by showing to the judges a letter systematically concealed from the accused man and his lawyer. Is it permissible to condemn without allowing the means of defence? Is it not monstrous that it was made possible, outside the court-room, to influence the mind, decision, and sentence of the judges? Is it permissible for anyone to enter the council chamber and say to the magistrate: "Forget what you have heard in favor of the man whom you are to judge. We have ourselves certain documents which, for reasons of state or politics, we have concealed and ask you to keep secret. We affirm that these documents are authentic, are in actual existence. Condemn!" And on that a tribunal, with two of its members dissenting (for the alleged unanimity among the judges is a myth), pronounced sentence. No officer arose and said: "Something at variance with all equity is demanded of us. We should not allow it."

And the public had been so completely misled that it did not trouble itself about the methods by which the accused, who was pronounced the most odious of traitors, had been condemned. Even those whose patriotism was disturbed, in that the charge affected an officer, forgot the methods employed in the trial, because they were convinced, in the interests of an offended fatherland, of the necessity of chastisement by any means whatever. Had this not been so, millions of voices would have cried: "If such abuse of power and such arbitrary methods be allowed, each man's liberty is in danger. It is at the mercy of the public prosecutor; and every citizen under accusation loses the most elementary guarantees of defence!"

They will arise perhaps to-morrow, after the restrictions have been removed, and will protest in the name of Justice, saying, with me: "Capt. Dreyfus is an innocent victim of a horrible plot; he was overborne by religious hate; his conviction was obtained through illegal means; he must have another trial!" And public opinion, stronger than governments, more powerful than political interests will triumph.

May those in every country who believe that nothing is indifferent to them which affects Humanity and, higher than man, Right and Justice,—may they labor with me to hasten that day!

VINDEX.

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WHEN DID JOHN CABOT DISCOVER NORTH AMERICA?

EXTENSIVE preparations are being made at Bristol, England, in Canada, and in Newfoundland to commemorate, on the twenty-fourth of this present month, the landing of John Cabot on the coast of the North-American continent. The intention is praiseworthy; but it is well to recollect that we do not know exactly when and where he first sighted the New World. Nor do we possess means of ascertaining these two points, admittedly of paramount importance in a celebration of that character.

The alleged date of the landfall rests exclusively upon a statement brought forward, for the first time, forty-seven years after the event, and which, thus far, stands uncorroborated. It is contained in a pamphlet in Spanish, written about 1544 by one Dr. Grajales, of the Puerto de Santa Maria, concerning whom we do not know anything else. It was printed out of Spain, and was intended to accompany a map by Sebastian Cabot, apparently engraved in the Netherlands. The type which served for printing the pamphlet was also used to print two series of legends pasted on the right and left of the only copy of that map known, which is now in the National Library at Paris.

Translated, the passage relating to the date reads as follows:—

"No. 8. This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot, his son, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ fourteen hundred and ninety-four, on the twenty-fourth of June in the morning, to which they gave the name '*prima tierra vista*'; and a large island adjacent to it they named 'Sant Juan,' it having been discovered on the day of that saint."

The numeral corresponds to that given in the inscription, "De la tierra de los bacallaos ve á tabla primera, No. 3" ("Concerning the country of codfish, see the first table No. 3" [Error for 8]). This inscription is engraved in the map over the region now known as Canada, and embraces the country extending from New Brunswick to Labrador inclusive.

The year 1494 is clearly an anachronism, as the voyage was not undertaken until 1497, by virtue of letters patent granted on March 5,

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1496. As to the month, this also is doubtful, for the following reasons: When John Cabot returned to England, he gave an account of his voyage, which is briefly reported in a letter written from London August 23, 1497, by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers in Venice, and by two despatches sent by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan, August 24 and December 18, 1497.

Pasqualigo states that John Cabot "coasted three hundred leagues [of the newly discovered country]." This statement is corroborated by Soncino, who "saw the description of the country discovered by Cabot marked in a chart and on a solid globe which the latter had made." These three hundred leagues amounted actually to six hundred, as Cabot had to retrace his course when sailing homeward. Now John Cabot was already in London on August 10, 1497, which implies that he had reached Bristol about five days earlier. If we accept the alleged date of June 24 as that of his landfall in America, it leaves only forty-two days between his arrival within sight of the New World and his return to England.

We must assume that Cabot and his small crew of eighteen men, after a voyage said to have lasted more than fifty-two days (they had left England early in May, 1497), rested awhile, and devoted some time to refitting or repairing their diminutive craft ("uno piccolo naviglio e xviii persone se pose a la fortuna"), as well as to taking in wood and water, and renewing the stock of victuals, which could be done only by hunting and salting game on shore. To these necessary delays must be added the time spent in skirting to and fro along three hundred leagues of coast. Nor should it be forgotten that, in ranging an unknown and dangerous shore, only a moderate rate of speed could have been maintained. How could all this have been accomplished in the limited time which the alleged landfall on June 24 leaves to Cabot before his return to England? If we suppose that, owing to westerly winds and the Gulf Stream, he effected the homeward voyage in one-third less time than is stated to have been required for the outward passage, that is, thirty-four days instead of fifty-two, then, as Cabot was already back in Bristol on August 5, he must have taken the necessary rest in the new land, made the indispensable repairs, effected landings, and renewed his stock of provisions, besides coasting six hundred leagues, all within eight days!

The date June 24, therefore, is highly improbable. It may have originated in connection with an imaginary island which figures in old Portuguese charts, close to the northeast coast, in about 50° lat.

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In some maps, Wolfenbüttel B, for instance, the cartographer has placed it within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. That island was probably supposed by Sebastian Cabot, in 1544, to be identical with the one—also imaginary, as I propose to show—which he then borrowed from a French map, where it is inserted in the same place. Dr. Grajales, who knew of the almost constant practice in those days of naming islands after the saints on whose days they were discovered, may well have assumed the date of June 24—that of the festival of St. John the Baptist—on seeing that the island was labelled in those maps, "I. de San Juan."

As regards the landfall, the first cartographical mention of the transatlantic discoveries of the English is to be found in the planisphere executed between June and August, 1500, by Juan de la Cosa, the owner and master of Columbus's flagship during his first voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. In that celebrated chart, there is in the proximity and to the west of Cuba an unbroken coast-line, delineated like a continent, and extending northward to the extremity of the map. On the northern portion of that seaboard La Cosa has placed a continuous line of British flags. The most southern inscription in that part of the coast in the chart is, "Mar descubierta por ingleses" ("Sea discovered by the English"). The northernmost reads, "Cabo de ynglaterra" ("The Cape of England").

On July 25, 1498, Pedro de Ayala wrote from London to Ferdinand and Isabella that he possessed the chart or *mappamundi* which Cabot had brought with him, and that he would send it to their Majesties. It is fair therefore to infer that La Cosa's delineations embody the results of Cabot's voyage. Unfortunately, owing to the absence of degrees of latitude and longitude, as well as to the style of the projection, the various positions cannot be determined; for the cartographical data are totally inadequate to enable anyone to locate the landfall. It is even impossible to ascertain whether the *Mar descubierta por ingleses* or the *Cabo de ynglaterra* was first seen, and to what locality either of them corresponds. The two most competent scholars who ever studied the question—Humboldt and Kohl—came to different conclusions. For the former, the *Cabo de ynglaterra* is a cape near Belle Isle; for the latter, it is Cape Race.

Further, John Cabot made a second voyage to the New World, sailing from Bristol in April, 1498, from which voyage he, or his companions, must have returned before 1500. There is consequently no

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reason why La Cosa's map may not also include geographical information brought back by the second expedition. This is all the more likely, as the extent of the east coast covered with English flags is greater in his map than the distance between the eastern extremity of Porto Rico and the westernmost coast of Cuba, that is, at least, nineteen degrees, or three hundred and eighty marine leagues. How are we to distinguish between these conflicting data?

It is not until a quarter of a century after La Cosa had made his planisphere that we find a Spanish map exhibiting the northeastern region of North America, named then either "Baccalaos" ("The codfish country"), or "Tierra del Labrador" ("The land of the Laborer"), or both, and set forth as being the *locus* of the discoveries made by the English. The Sevillian cartographers however seem to have drawn a distinction, by ascribing the *Baccalaos* to Corte Real, or the Portuguese, and the *Tierra del Labrador* to the British navigators, or the Cabots.

The services of Sebastian Cabot were engaged, in 1512, by Ferdinand of Aragon chiefly on account of his supposed knowledge of the geography of North America; he having appropriated to himself the merit of the discovery of the American continent made by his father. He filled in Spain the office of Pilot-Major from February, 1518, until October, 1547, remaining titulary of the post during his absence at La Plata. Not only was Sebastian Cabot, by virtue of his functions, supervisor of the chair of cosmography, but he was also a member of the commission of pilots and geographers required by King Ferdinand to make a general revision of all maps. It is evident, therefore, that the charts made in Spain, particularly by the cosmographers to his Majesty, must have represented North America according to Sebastian Cabot's notions, and doubtless borrowed from him the legends inscribed thereon. Let us see now where the discoveries of the English were invariably located in such maps.

We still possess five specimens of Sevillian cartography, which, considering the royal ordinances of the time, and the fact that three maps are stated explicitly to be the work of Charles the Fifth's cartographers, we assume to be derived directly from the *Padron General* or standard official map.

The first and roughest of all is the map sent from Seville in 1527 by an English merchant, Robert Thorne, to Dr. Lee, the ambassador of Henry VIII in Spain. In it, the northern extremity of the east coast bears the inscription, "Nova terra laboratorum dicta," and on its seaboard we read, "Terra hec ab Anglis primum fuit inventa." The

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region thus said to have been discovered by the English extends from 50° to 65° N. lat. We then have two very elaborate manuscript planispheres, known as the "Weimar" maps. One is anonymous and dated 1527. The other, bearing date 1529, is signed by Diego Ribeiro, who was his Majesty's cosmographer and master chart-maker, as well as Sebastian Cabot's colleague in the Badajoz Junta. The first of these mentions only the *Tierra del laborador*, which is placed between 56° and 60° N. lat. This region, however, is meant for the field of English discoveries in 1497, and probably 1498, as is shown by the Weimar Ribeiro map of 1529, made on the same scale and after the same pattern, and where the inscription is followed by the additional remark, "*Esta tierra descubrieron los Ingleses*" ("This land was discovered by the English"). And what shows still more clearly the identity of these English discoveries with those accomplished by John Cabot and his companions, is the legend added in the same place by Ribeiro in the Propaganda duplicate of his great map: "Tierra del Labrador, laqual descubrieron los Ingleses de la villa de Bristol" ("The Land of the Laborer, which was discovered by the English of the town of Bristol"). Finally, we have the map called "Wolfenbüttel B," anonymous and undated, but certainly constructed in Seville before 1531. This also bears the inscription across Labrador, between 56° and 60° N. lat.: "Descubierta por los Yngleses de la vila de Bristol."

The chain of evidence is complete; and it shows that in Seville, during the first forty years of the sixteenth century, cosmographers always located the transatlantic discoveries of the English, implying those of John Cabot, at least ten degrees north of Cape Breton,—according to the scale of latitude inscribed on the Weimar maps. This fact requires to be kept in mind; for that location is due, directly or indirectly, to Sebastian Cabot, in consequence of the official positions which he filled in Spain for so many years.

In 1544, the engraved *mappamundi* of Sebastian Cabot, already mentioned, appeared in Antwerp or in Augsburg. There do we see for the first time a different *locus* ascribed to the transatlantic discoveries of the English under the flag of Henry VII.

This map gives a geographical representation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and its vicinity entirely unlike that which had figured previously in Spanish charts, particularly in those which were constructed by the state cosmographers of Spain at the time when Sebastian Cabot was at their head. Nor was it ever reproduced in maps emanating from Spanish chart-makers. On the extremity of a large peninsula of the

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northeast coast, we read, "Prima tierra vista," that is, "the first land seen,"—or the alleged landfall of Cabot.

The locality was doubtless intended to represent Cape Breton. Then, in a gulf adjoining, which is meant for the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there is a very large island, named "I. de S. Juan." This unexpected insular configuration is explained in Grajales's legend 8, which I have already cited.

In reality, there is no such island anywhere near the north coast of Cape Breton, unless it be Newfoundland. In those days, however, and for many years after 1497, Newfoundland was believed to form part of the mainland. The falsity of the statement can be easily accounted for: Sebastian Cabot's entire configuration of that locality and most of the legends and names inscribed in it have been boldly plagiarized from the Dieppe map drawn by the French cartographer, Nicolas Desliens, in 1541. This map, which is now in the Dresden Royal Library, is based upon the discoveries of Jacques Cartier.[1]

Further, in this plagiarism of Sebastian Cabot's his delineation of the pretended "Isla de S. Juan" does not even represent an existing island. What he has thus depicted, and claims to have discovered and named, is, in reality, only a cartographical distortion,—an amalgam of islets, sunken rocks, shoals, and sandbars, known as "The Magdalens." These, some French cartographer (probably Desliens himself) had conglomerated by mistake, ascribing to them the shape of a compact island of considerable dimensions; and Cabot actually reproduces it with no other authority than the erroneous map itself.

In this way was John Cabot's discovery located in 1544 at such a great distance from the latitude where it had figured in all the Spanish maps made while Sebastian held the office of Pilot-Major, and according to models necessarily constructed from data furnished by him.

It lies with the believers in the authenticity of the landfall at Cape Breton to account for this sudden and unexpected change, and to explain why, after constantly inscribing the discovery in Labrador, Sebastian Cabot came at such a late hour to place it at least 10 degrees farther south. His admirers have hitherto neglected to answer this all-important question seriously, and with an adequate knowledge of the subject. They allege that as the Spanish government was very jealous of imparting to foreigners any information concerning its colonial enterprises and discoveries, chart-makers were prohibited—even under penalty of

[1] See the facsimiles in "John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America." London: B. F. Stevens, 1896, pp. 94–95.

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death!—from marking on maps any geographical data of the kind. This theory I myself believed in to a degree when I commenced studying American cartography thirty-four years ago, and even subsequently. It is, nevertheless, erroneous in every respect.

In the first place, there is no evidence whatever that, notwithstanding the rights conveyed by the Bulls of Demarcation, Spain ever laid claim to the northeast coast of America. The inference is rather the other way. The famous map of Juan de la Cosa, Columbus's own pilot, and Chief Cartographer of Spain, not only sets forth that the northeastern borders of America were discovered by the English, but acknowledges tacitly the supremacy of England over the region, by dotting it entirely with British flags.

True it is that, in 1511, one Juan de Agramonte obtained from Queen Juana leave to go with two vessels "to ascertain the secret of the new land," that is, the strait which was supposed to lead to Cathay through the Baccalaos; but it was "on condition that two of his pilots should be Bretons brought direct from Brittany." This shows that Spain was not yet then in possession of the geographical knowledge requisite for such an enterprise.

The Spaniards in fact never sailed north of the Carolinas until 1524, when Estevan Gomez was sent in search of the western passage. Nor do we find them visiting that coast again until 1541, when Ares de Sea was commissioned by Charles V to see "what Jacques Cartier had discovered in the country called Canada." Further, we have the positive statement of Oviedo, then State Chronicler for the Indies, that his countrymen and himself had no knowledge of the Northern regions; and that was the reason why the model map of Chavès did not extend beyond 21° 15′. Spain, therefore, had nothing to conceal regarding the geography of the northeast coast of America.

In the second place, there is not a shadow of evidence that Spain ever concealed her transatlantic discoveries, or prohibited cartographical information concerning them. Thus do we see Christopher Columbus himself, who, more than anyone else, was interested in preventing transgressions of his privileges and of the rights of the Crown, order, without any hesitation, for the use even of a Venetian admiral, "a map of the newly discovered lands, detailed and complete." When Magellan had accomplished his famous discovery of the straits that bear his name, which one might suppose Spain would have reserved exclusively to herself, it was at once graphically described in all maps and globes, with the exact route. And what is more, the information was

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conveyed openly to the Archbishop of Salzburg, by Maximilianus Transylvanus, the secretary of Charles V. Several other instances of the kind could be cited.

It stands to reason that it would have been impossible to keep such information secret. Did not the numerous ships equipped in Seville, in Cadiz, and in Palos for the New World carry charts? And was it not indispensable that such maps should be as exact and complete as possible? Look at the relatively numerous specimens of Sevillian hydrography which have come down to us. Do they not set forth all and singular the geographical knowledge of the New World which the Spanish pilots and cosmographers possessed in the first half of the sixteenth century? When once in the hands of the four hundred pilots and masters who at one time were together in the employ of Castile, exclusively for the American trade, how could they escape the curiosity of the numerous merchants and adventurers who flocked into the southern ports, waiting for a favorable opportunity to cross the ocean and explore new countries?

My opponents reply by quoting the following passage from the above-mentioned letter sent in 1527 from Seville, by Robert Thorne, with a map, to Dr. Lee: "That it [the map] is not to be showed or communicated there [in England] with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it prejudiciall to the emperor, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker, as well for that none may make these cards but certayne appointed and allowed masters." What does this prove? Only that Thorne's map had not been indorsed by the competent authorities, as the law required. But this obligation was not intended to withhold geographical information. The government acted in the interest of the fisc, and more particularly of navigation, which suffered greatly from a competition created by incompetent cartographers. And we have only to cast a glance at Thorne's map in Hakluyt to see that it is scarcely possible to imagine a poorer specimen of cartographical handiwork. The words in Thorne's letter, "though there is nothing in it [the map] prejudiciall to the emperor," the reference to the pilots, who alone are authorized to make maps, and the fact that its configurations are identical with those in all the charts of the time, without any addition whatever, show conclusively that the proviso accompanying the transmission of the map to Dr. Lee was not prompted by the motives which certain critics allege.

Again, if the Spanish government had any particular reasons for making a secret of the geography of the Baccalaos region, how is it

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that Sebastian Cabot, who was Pilot-Major of Spain, inscribes so fully —and as exactly as he could—in a map intended to be engraved, the configurations of Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and Labrador, and this chiefly in the interest of a rival nation? Moreover the history of Spanish jurisprudence in the sixteenth century leaves no room to doubt that had it been so great a crime to mark maritime discoveries in maps, we should find some ordinance or law on the subject. There are no traces of anything of the kind in the numerous *Recapitulaciones de Leyes* published in Spain.

I venture to suggest another explanation. It is, I think, now admitted by all who have read the authentic documents published in my latest work [1] on the subject, that Sebastian Cabot was an unmitigated charlatan, who frequently disguised the truth, and was constantly engaged in plotting and corresponding in secret with foreign rulers, all whom he betrayed in turn. He had tried several times to ingratiate himself with the English king. In 1538, he intrigued to influence Sir Thomas Wyatt, resident ambassador at the court of Spain, to recommend his services to Henry VIII, which in fact was done by Sir Philip Hoby when he returned to London. But the manœuvre succeeded only several years later.

At that time, a great change had taken place in the relative importance of the northern coast of the new continent. The seas which bordered the Baccalaos region were no longer a mere common fishing-ground frequented by the smacks of Portugal, Biscay, Normandy, and England. The successful explorations of Jacques Cartier had been followed by the planting of French colonies. The part selected was not Labrador, on which, in all the maps of the period, was inscribed the uninviting legend, "No ay en ella cosa de provecho" ("Here there is nothing of utility"). On the contrary, the French had chosen the country around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Cape Breton, which the reports of Cartier and Roberval to Francis I represented to be a beautiful and fertile country, with rich copper-mines, fine ports, and the most navigable rivers in the world.

Under the circumstances, the cartographical statement of Sebastian Cabot, as embodied in the planisphere of 1544, may well have been a suggestion of British claims, and a bid for the favor of the King of England. To place near the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence the landfall of 1497, was tantamount to declaring that region to be English dominion, as the discovery had been accomplished by a vessel sailing

[1] "John and Sebastian Cabot." New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1896.

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under the British flag—"sub banneris vexillis et insigniis nostris," said Henry VII.

Nor was the hint conveyed by Sebastian at an unseasonable time; England being then at war with France, and continuing so until 1547. At all events, it is certain that, to use the language of Hakluyt, "the title which England has to that part of America which is from Florida sixty-seven degrees northward" is or was derived "from the letters granted to John Cabot and his three sons."

Convinced that the location of the landfall at Cape Breton is an after-thought of Sebastian Cabot, and devoid of all authenticity, there is nothing left but to examine the data furnished in 1497 by John Cabot himself. These are contained in the first dispatch of Soncino, which I translate:—

> "After sailing from Bristol . . the ship passed Ireland more to the west; then sailed toward the north, and afterward east [Error for "west"], when, after a few days, the North Star was to the right."

This is all we possess, in the nature of positive data, to determine where, in 1497, John Cabot effected his landfall. Technically speaking, the only conclusion which geographers could infer from such scanty details was that the landfall had to be sought north of 51° 15′ N. lat., being that of the southern extremity of Ireland. Ireland, however, extends to 55° 15′ N. lat. From what point between these two parallels did John Cabot sail westward? Supposing that it was Valencia, and that the route continued due west, he would have sighted Belle Isle or its vicinity. But Cabot said positively that he altered his course when to the west of Ireland and stood to the northward. From what latitude exactly, and where he again put his ship on the western tack, are questions which no one can answer beyond stating that it was north of 51° 15′. I have surmised and said that, according to Soncino's statement, and taking into account the extremely northern latitudes in which all the Spanish maps located the British discoveries in the New World, the landfall must have been in Labrador, west of Belle Isle, between Sandwich Bay and Cape Chudley, in about 53° 30′ N. lat. But this estimate I bring forward only as a supposition.

Dr. S. E. Dawson, in an able and interesting paper published in the twelfth volume of the "Transactions" of the Royal Society of Canada has opposed this conclusion; and his arguments deserve to be attentively examined.

A remarkable circumstance related in John Cabot's verbal account

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of his first transatlantic voyage, was the extraordinary number of codfish which he saw in the sea laving the newly discovered regions.

I referred to Cape Chudley as a locality where cod were more plentiful than anywhere else. My opponent shows that now cod arrive there only after August 15, at which date Cabot was already back in England, and, that, consequently, Cape Chudley cannot have been his landfall. But I have never said that Cape Chudley was John Cabot's landfall. I only advanced the supposition that this cape may have been the *terminus* of Cabot's exploration of the three hundred marine leagues westward. The most therefore that can be made out of the argument is that Cabot found no cod at Cape Chudley when he reached the place.

Nor can it be inferred from the absence of cod in Southern Labrador before the twentieth of June that Cabot's landfall must be located where the fish is already to be found at that date; *i. e.*, Newfoundland, or Nova Scotia. Cabot does not say when and where exactly "that sea is covered with fishes." He may have observed the fact only *when returning* from Cape Chudley, homeward bound. Now, if, according to my hypothesis, he effected his return from Labrador to Bristol in about thirty-four days, arriving in the latter port on August 5, he might well have noticed the amazing number of codfish in Southern Labrador, or on the coast of Newfoundland, between June 20 and the first week in July, and have continued to see it for a long distance.

A more important question mooted by Dr. Dawson—and in the true scientific spirit, although with doubtful conclusions—is that of the deviation of the magnetic needle.

The patriotic critic, avowedly availing himself of the data furnished by Mr. Charles A. Scott in his valuable paper on the variation of the compass off the Bahama Islands at the time of the landfall of Columbus in 1492, has formed the following opinion :—

"If Columbus on a direct western course dropped two hundred and forty miles from Gomara, his point of departure to his landfall in the Antilles, in 1492, with a variation of one point west, it is altogether probable that John Cabot, with a variation of a point and a half [?], would have dropped, in 1497, three hundred and sixty miles to the south on his western course across the Atlantic; and, again, if John Cabot laid his course to the west by compass from latitude 53° north, the variation, so much greater [?] than that observed by Columbus, would have carried him clear of Cape Race and to the next probable landfall, Cape Breton."—(*Trans. Royal Society of Canada*, Sect. xi, 1894, p. 58.)

Such are the principal reasons alleged against the probability of the landing of Cabot on the coast of Labrador, and in favor of the

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opinion that it was in the vicinity of Cape Breton. The argument so far from being decisive is, on the contrary, entirely hypothetical and problematic.

The laws of the secular motion of the curves of equal variation on the surface of the globe are yet too little known to enable anyone to infer, from the variations which Columbus experienced in or about 25° N. lat., the variations which Cabot experienced in 53° N. lat. There is nothing whatever to show that the variations experienced by Cabot were not inferior to one point and a half west, or that they were not *nil*, or even eastwardly. Again: If the variations experienced by Columbus can be determined more or less approximately by inferences drawn from his own journal, we possess no such information concerning the route followed by Cabot. There is no ground, therefore, to say that if the variation experienced by Columbus was one point west, the variation experienced by Cabot must have been one point and a half; nor can such consequence be inferred from any known fact.

Even in admitting that Cabot experienced a variation of a point and a half, it is not exact to infer therefrom that if with a variation of one point Columbus dropped two hundred and forty miles in a course of about 3,150 miles, Cabot dropped proportionately in a much shorter course, that is, three hundred and sixty miles for a variation of a point and a half. The inference would still be inexact, even if Cabot's course and that of Columbus had been of precisely equal length. Any mathematician could have told Dr. Dawson that such deviations are to each other as the tangents of the angles of variation, and *not as the variations themselves.* Then the route of Columbus and that of John Cabot were traversed under circumstances wholly different. The causes of the dropping in the two courses—among which the variations of the compass are the least weighty for Cabot's route—did not exercise an influence equally important over both courses. We should not, therefore, determine from the dropping in one course the dropping experienced in the other.

Nor is it logical to take into account only the differences in the variations of the compass. The route of Columbus was entirely in latitudes where fine weather and a smooth sea prevailed. It was besides in the region of northeast trade-winds. The navigator has not then to contend against the errors of reckoning due to beating against head-winds and to changes of course and speed in bad weather. The currents, as well as the winds, were favorable to Columbus. Finally, if he did experience a variation of one point westward, it was only in

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the meridian of 40° W. East of that meridian the variations were much less, and possibly in a contrary direction, as he probably cut the line of no variation between 28° and 32° W. long. There was therefore, as regards the variation, a partial compensation.

If we now examine the regions necessarily traversed by Cabot, we find that he did not enjoy such advantages. He sailed constantly in the region of the brave west winds, that is, with head-winds which compelled him to tack nearly the whole time. This tacking had to be carried out in latitudes where gales and heavy seas are almost constant. The consequence of these difficulties is made apparent in the expression of Soncino, that Cabot was compelled "to wander a good deal." In such a case it is impossible to ascertain the error, or deviation between the course actually made by the navigator and that which he believed himself to have made.

Under these circumstances, it is bold to assume, as Dr. Dawson does, that Cabot's course was "west magnetic," and that the corresponding true course was this magnetic course west, corrected exactly by 1½ points of variation northwesterly. Yet, my opponent's belief that the landfall actually was at Cape Breton rests mainly upon this supposition.

Well may we say, therefore, that with our present sources of information no one is warranted in asserting that John Cabot discovered the continent of North America on June 24, 1497, and that his landfall was Cape Breton.

HENRY HARRISSE.

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THE GRIEVANCE OF THE WEST.

AN opportunity was afforded me in the last Presidential election to do some campaign work in the States of Ohio and Indiana; and, though my work was interrupted by an unfortunate circumstance, it was sufficiently extensive to bring me into direct contact with a great many farmers, merchants, and taxpayers generally, who were complaining, as was natural, of the hard times. There was, of course, the usual division of sentiment in regard to the remedy; but the sound-money advocates admitted frankly a condition of things that required more than a perfunctory consideration. The exigencies of the campaign directed all attention to the federal issues concerning the tariff and the currency; but they did not prevent frequent allusion, by many with whom I talked, to questions which had no connection with the main issues, though it was the impression of all who made complaint of the situation that the whole trouble was with the currency and the tariff.

There were two main complaints made by the farmers, besides that against trusts. They were: (1) That farm labor was as high as it had been in more prosperous times when prices for grain were higher; and (2) that the salaries of public officials ought to be reduced to correspond with the universal fall in prices.

Here was, for me, a very interesting condition demanding an attention which it did not then and does not yet receive from the people making complaint. One of the most amusing features of it was that every argument addressed to the laboring classes, to hold their allegiance to a gold standard, only confirmed the opinion of those who wanted an excuse for reducing wages and salaries. The silver advocates told the farmers that free silver would raise the prices of agricultural products and farm values; and the gold advocates admitted this, though with a qualification. On the other hand, the gold advocates showed that salaries and wages would be reduced by free silver; and the farmers, not knowing anything about the economic question on its own merits, and finding that they did not have to choose between the two parties, *but could believe both*, selected free silver as the remedy in favor of their interests. No amount of argument on the abstract questions

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of public confidence and honesty, or on matters remote from their immediate interests, could move them; for they saw a direct way to cure the evils of which they complained. No one ventured to suggest a local remedy for their grievances, which should be perfectly compatible with a sound currency. The politicians were the salaried officers against whom one of the complaints was directed; and, besides being too ignorant to know anything about the problem, they were too much interested in the *status quo* to offer any policy except that which would sustain public confidence in our institutions,—they to retain all their immunities, political and economic, in the result of a favorable election.

County politics almost all over the West are honeycombed with "rings" and corruption, precisely like Tammany in New York. On the other hand, the people themselves were in the densest ignorance of the real cause of unreduced wages. Consequently, whenever I was called upon to answer the farmer's argument for free silver, I turned questioner and began a series of inquiries about the county's or township's method of relief for the poor; and I invariably found a most astonishing condition of things. I found in fact a real grievance of which not a word had been said, and of whose very existence everybody seemed to be unconscious. This was a system of poor-relief, as bad as anything that existed in the worst days of charity in Europe. My argument was to the effect that the real cause of complaint was a system of taxation that ought to be abolished, and not the badness of the gold standard.

I think it will be important to point out some of the facts, and the lessons that they teach, so that the attention of the agricultural classes may be directed to home problems for reflection, instead of trying to revolutionize federal government along the lines of socialism. They require to be shown that what they are suffering from now is a form of socialism of the worst kind.

Of course, to analyze all the grievances, just and unjust, of the farmers would take me over tariff and currency problems, as well as the influence of natural economic forces, such as the law of diminishing returns, and unscientific farming. But this would be an ungrateful task; while the problem which I wish to discuss, though an old one, presents wholly new features to the majority of Western people, who accept without question their responsibility for poverty, and never study the effects of the policy that they have adopted. Hence, in the midst of currency controversies and questions of taxation, as the agricultural classes have at last become sensitive on the price of farm

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labor, it will be useful to point out a remedy that lies wholly within their own power, and that requires no tampering with either tariff or monetary problems for its application.

Let us look at some of the facts that came within my immediate observation and that occasioned the complaint which I have mentioned. The corn-crop of the West in 1896 was one of the largest and best ever known. It created a demand for labor. But hard times and the prospect of a very low price for the product made it impossible for farmers to pay the old prices for cutting and husking. In spite of mechanical improvements for dispensing with hand labor in cutting corn, there was a sharp demand for such labor; but it was generally refused unless the price of past years was promised. Often I met cases where laborers, under the pressure of necessity, accepted the reduced terms; and these were usually men who had come from a distance. In some cases the home laborers intimidated them for offering their services at reduced rates, to the extent that, for fear of injury, they abandoned their work; and many farmers, being unable to pay the old prices, had to harvest their own corn-crop.

Now it is no wonder that, with such teaching as the average politician gave the farmers, they rushed to free silver to increase the price of their products and to diminish the purchasing power of wages. They had only to believe the free-silver claim, that prices would rise by coining silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and the gold advocate's, that it would reduce wages. But when I asked them what system of poor-relief was in vogue, I invariably got the answer that the county commissioners, or poor-law officers, had full power to distribute, as they saw fit, food, fuel, and clothing to any man or woman who could show a need of them. Want alone, and this not always severe or pressing, was sufficient to invoke the blessing of charity; and the applicant was helped very much after the latter half of Louis Blanc's maxim but without regard to the first half: "From every one according to his power, and to every one according to his needs."

I seized the opportunity to point out the consequences of such a policy, and to explain that it was absurd to expect a laborer to take lower wages when he could get his living by taxes on the community. Charity sustained him up to the level of the standard of living; and he had no more need to work than a king, unless he got wages above the price of charity. This way of looking at the matter had never occurred to my farmer friends. I improved the occasion to suggest the remedy, which, while the public sentiment is receptive, ought

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to be pushed throughout the West for all it is worth. It is, *to abolish absolutely all outdoor relief.*

Not to say anything of the large number of individual cases of fraudulent charity which were mentioned to me, I may refer to two facts of larger interest concerning the cost of relief to whole counties. The first was the statement of a grocer in Springfield, Ohio, who told me that his share of the commissioners' orders for groceries last year for the relief of the poor was $200; and he was only one of a hundred grocers among whom such orders were distributed. Fuel and clothing would go to other classes of dealers; and one can imagine what the expense would be to the community. In the next county, of which Xenia is the county-seat, the commissioners, I was told, were obliged to issue bonds to pay a deficit of $5,000, caused by poor-relief. The total cost of relief in that county was $20,336, or nearly 22 per cent of the whole expenses for county administration.

It will be interesting to consult the statistics for the whole State, and to note, on a large scale, the economic and social influences which make for discontent and unrest, and which prove at the same time extravagance in government and depreciation of values.

In 1892, the cost of outdoor relief in the State of Ohio was $453,603; in 1893, $456,457; in 1894, $585,457. The increase during the last of these three years is very large, amounting to $129,000. But we get little idea of what this means to the State unless we can compare it with the total sums spent for charity in all forms; noting also that competent judges speak of such charity as a growing and dangerous evil. Mr. H. C. Filler, Chairman of the Committee on County Committees in the Ohio State Conference of Charities, at its meeting in 1892, said:—

"It is not expected that I startle this intelligent audience with a new theory upon a subject as old as Mount Sinai. If I can only say something which will awaken a renewed interest in the minds and hearts of the great benevolent class whose souls seem bent on bettering the condition of the helpless, without losing sight of the unhesitating philanthropists who contributed last year from the tax duplicate the munificent sum of $1,200,000.00 to be used in accord with that heavenly injunction of succoring the poor, I will have done some good.

In order to more fully understand the growing importance of the subject, I will illustrate by a few figures. In the year ending August, 1881, Franklin County maintained a daily average number of 218 people, costing $24,700.81; for the same period we gave outdoor relief to 1,692, at a cost of $7,094.05, making the total pauper population, of 1,910, cost $31,794.86. The year ending August 31, 1891, we provided in the infirmary for a daily average of 309 inmates at a cost of $34,354.85, and relieved on the outside the wants, real or supposed, of 10,733, at an expense of $20,671.45, making the outlay $55,026.30 for the relief of 11,042 people—about

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one-tenth of the population of the capital county of this State, the increase in paupers being about 400 per cent,—far in advance of the increase in population. The small increase in the cash may be accounted for in the stubborn fight made by the directors in curtailing the amount, giving the lowest possible figure. The growth, numerically, shows where the bounty would end if unbounded privileges were given to this class. In 1881, the average number of inmates in the infirmaries of Ohio was 5,171, which cost $564,647.19. There were relieved on the outside 8,022, at an expense of $259,733.71, making for the year 13,193 reported paupers, which cost $824,380.90. In 1891, ten years after, the average number in the infirmaries was 6,393, which cost $715,960.14, and you supported, in whole or in part, on the outside 54,121, at a cost of $430,761.76, making the total number of paupers in Ohio 60,514, costing the fabulous sum of $1,146,721.90,—an increase in one decade of 47,321, at an additional expense of $322,341.00."

Such figures speak for themselves, especially when we consider the high percentage of outdoor relief and the probability that the administration of indoor relief—partly from defective management, but mainly from the indifference of the public to its organization on any but a sentimental basis—costs much more than is necessary. That it is wholly superfluous is shown by the experience of Cincinnati in the winter of 1884–1885, when the outdoor relief was cut off because the directors had stolen all the money. Nobody suffered more than usual; and the organized charities were able to cope with all the real suffering. But the figures given appear still more instructive when compared with those for all forms of charity in the State, as shown in the following table:—

STATISTICS OF COST OF ALL CHARITIES.

Institutions.	1892.	1893.	1894.
Asylums for the Insane	$832,680.30	$796,265.93	$865,701.65
Institution for the Feeble-minded	112,239.31	111,436.83	135,220.56
" " " Deaf and Dumb	80,011.49	80,431.71	88,629.05
" " " Blind	51,455.13	48,630.02	55,970.68
Working Home for the Blind	10,122.98	4,695.12	15,919.24
Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home	150,148.97	143,668.42	144,970.27
" " " Home	134,872.87	111,889.33	138,528.65
Boys' Industrial School	84,263.34	52,199.43	95,485.92
Ohio Hospital for Epileptics	.....	.....	39,417.95
Girls' Industrial Home	34,556.99	21,343.50	36,958.80
Ohio Penitentiary	257,440.58	295,451.49	270,905.61
Workhouses, etc.	204,081.57	264,816.91	157,113.32
County Infirmaries	772,113.17	395,801.16	848,730.54
County Children's Homes	234,852.70	250,390.64	242,554.01
County Jails	123,283.99	115,874.76	136,159.74
Outdoor Relief	481,879.23	472,207.74	585,457.10
Soldiers' Relief Commission	395,676.83	328,961.28	318,192.38
Totals	$3,959,679.45	$3,491,064.27	$4,175,915.47

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Unfortunately I have not the figures for 1895 and 1896, as the reports for those years are not accessible to me. But there are several features noticeable in those that I have given. In the first place, the cost of both indoor and outdoor relief for the respective years is $1,253,992.40, $868,008.90, and $1,434,187.64. To these sums ought also to be added the cost of workhouses and houses of refuge, which are municipal, as distinct from county, infirmaries and a sort of institution intermediate between the jail and the penitentiary. The cost of charity in which there is room for much economy would, therefore, be considerably larger. But, omitting the cost of workhouses as belonging to correction rather than charity, we find that the outdoor relief represents respectively 40, 55, and 41 per cent of the whole cost of relief for poverty proper. The number of persons receiving outdoor relief during the three years was 54,663, 52,652, and 100,361, respectively. Adding those who received indoor relief, we have 67,592, 66,457, and 115,867. The large increase in 1894 was probably due to the panic of 1893.

I may briefly compare the poor-law relief of Indiana with that of Ohio. For 1893, the total cost of relief, indoor and outdoor, was $876,127; for 1894, it was $980,058; and for 1895, it was $1,020,535—showing a constant increase. In Pennsylvania, for 1892, it was $1,255,803; for 1893, $1,918,982; and for 1894, $2,121,044. These items show not only a large increase, but also that probably the same general cost of relief prevails everywhere; and all that I desire to establish by the figures is the enormity of the cost, which ought to be diminished in the interest of economic administration, of land values, and of justice to all parties involved in the struggle for existence.

There are three important things to be enforced by these figures and the relation of poor-relief to existing economic conditions. They are: (1) The opportunity to abolish outdoor relief afforded by the present feeling of the agricultural classes in regard to wages; (2) that such a policy would afford at least a partial redress for the grievances of which farmers complain; (3) the effect of outdoor relief and over-taxation upon land values.

If the agricultural classes could be made to see the enormous injustice to themselves of protection, their grievance might easily be redressed by lower tariffs or what is known in economics as "free trade." But, since they are blind to this injustice, and are tempted to meddle with currency problems as a remedy for evils whose cause they do not know and which are serious, and, since they have come to see clearly that somehow wages and salaries have not fallen with the

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prices of their products, it is certainly an opportune time to agitate the importance of abolishing outdoor relief. Here is an opportunity even to weaken the opposition to sound currency by showing that the trouble is with our system of taxation and socialistic poor-relief, and not with the gold standard.

I certainly found in my campaign work a very receptive mind for my view of the case. I was able to show very clearly the absurdity of expecting wages to fall when the farmer taxed himself to see that his neighbor did not have to work. No sane man is going to work if he can live on the taxes of the community, unless he gets more for his work than poor-law relief will give him. Usually this relief, coupled with the philanthropic tendencies of the community, will secure relief equal to the standard of living. Hence a man is not likely to work unless his wages give him a profit over the standard of living. He is assured of his living without labor, and hence will not accept lower wages so long as this assurance lasts. Consequently the farmer can be shown that he must either abolish this sort of relief or patiently endure the consequences. He will at the same time decrease his rate of taxation and the wages of farm labor, and add this much to the value of the land; while he will also diminish the amount of poverty.

That outdoor relief only increases the amount of poverty, and that its abolition will injure no one, but rather benefit the community, is proved, not only by the unanimous opinion of experts, but by actual experience. Nothing proves it better than the incident already mentioned in the reference to Cincinnati. But the experience of Brooklyn, New York, is a still better illustration. I quote the statements of Mr. Alexander Johnston, Superintendent of the Asylum for the Feeble-minded at Fort Wayne, Indiana:—

"In the year 1879, the city of Brooklyn was expending annually about $125,000 in outdoor relief. Hon. Seth Low, the reform mayor of the city, now president of Columbia College, found that there was no authority for it in law; and it was stopped in mid-winter, suddenly. The results were amazing. Nobody died of starvation; the number in the poorhouse was not increased. The results showed that the $125,000 annually spent in outdoor relief were wasted and worse than wasted. All the apparent difference was that there was no longer seen in front of the relief officer's door, a great string of people with baskets waiting for their rations. There was in Brooklyn at that time, and there is to this day, a society for the improvement of the condition of the poor, dispensing private charity to the amount of $25,000 to $30,000 annually. The society usually made its main collection in November, and a supplementary collection in February. That year was the first for many years that the society did *not make a supplementary collection.* There was no perceptible difference in the call for private charity. The year fol-

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lowing, the city of Philadelphia took this lesson to heart and cut off all outdoor relief except coal; and one year later they cut that off also. The city of Philadelphia had spent annually $60,000 for coal and $80,000 for provisions. The private charitable societies went ahead and did their work. Except for a few weeks, they experienced no increase of demand."

In Chicago, during the fall of 1887, outdoor relief was cut off for several months. There was no suffering, and no increase of the poorhouse population. The author quoted above gives also the experience of Indianapolis:—

"In Indianapolis, in the year 1880, the distribution of outdoor relief amounted to between $85,000 and $90,000 among a population of 75,000,—more than a dollar a head given in official outdoor relief. At that time a man was elected township trustee, Mr. Smith King, who said to the county commissioners: 'If you will give me help in my office, I will reduce this outdoor relief enormously.' He opened his office, commenced a thorough system of record-keeping and investigation, and reduced the amount in one year to $25,000. The following year it was reduced to $17,000; and in the course of his four years' term he reduced it to $7,000 a year, without anybody suffering, without any injury to the worthy poor, and without any increase of the poorhouse population."

In spite of this experience, the outdoor relief of the State of Indiana for 1895 was nearly $600,000; and no tendency was shown by the Legislature to remedy the evil. The experience of Brookline, Massachusetts, is quite as interesting as any that has been quoted. This suburb of Boston about fifteen years ago had a population of 6,000. Its appropriation for outdoor relief was $9,000, and its poor-list, after every effort to reduce it, was 355 persons. The board of overseers resolved to put a stop to a policy which invited the immigration of paupers from other towns; so they built an almshouse, and then refused all outdoor relief, save in certain exceptional cases. Within one year the total pauper list was reduced to fifty-three persons, and the cost of exceptional cases to $2,000; thus saving $7,000 to the taxpayer.

"There was no increased demand upon private charity; and there were no beggars. Old men and women, whose children had been perfectly willing that they should have outdoor relief, suddenly found devoted sons anxious to support them rather than have them go to the house; men and women who had declared themselves too weak to work recovered their strength with marvellous rapidity; and the laborer, all whose earnings had barely been enough to support him through the summer, now saved for the winter and saved enough to keep him in tolerable comfort."

The experiences that have been quoted ought to prove the propriety of abolishing outdoor relief. But as I am not urging this on the ground of legitimate charity, I shall not dwell upon that side of the

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matter. Here I am interested in the economic and political aspects of the problem, and in the advantages that will accrue equally to the classes that complain so bitterly of our monetary system, to charity reformers, and to sound-currency advocates.

Local taxation is a problem that can be attacked now as never before; and, by a judicious economy of salaries and poor-law relief, one of the most important sources of discontent may be removed. At one stroke the States of Indiana and Ohio might easily save nearly $600,000 a year by cutting off outdoor relief alone. The Clerk of the Ohio Conference of Charities said in 1893: "Outdoor relief, as at present administered, *involves the minimum of true relief with the maximum of fraud*"; and yet no steps have been taken to remedy the evil.

Moreover, outdoor relief is not the only economy possible. Many of those connected with the system of indoor relief—which is admitted on all hands to be necessary—join in the demand for economic reforms in that system; and I have no doubt that a judicious reorganization of it along scientific lines would save at least 30 per cent of the amount expended in legitimate charity—legitimate in method. This would be a further $250,000; and if we note that, with United States pensions and Soldiers' Homes, there is no excuse for the enormous sum spent in relief for soldiers, we observe an opportunity of saving $315,000 more. Adding these to the $585,000 of outdoor relief, we have the sum of $1,150,000, which is probably without the slightest excuse for its disbursement in any form of charity. This is nearly 30 per cent of the whole expenses for charity; while the sum for outdoor relief and the possible economy in indoor relief, which would be $835,000, is about 60 per cent of the amount spent for the relief of pauperism alone.

The population of Ohio at this date was 3,600,000. Counting four to the family, which is certainly a low estimate, there would not be over 900,000 who could be taxpayers. Poverty and other conditions would probably reduce this number by 400,000, leaving only 500,000 persons to pay the taxes. This makes over $2 *per capita* which might be saved in the taxation for poor-relief alone, not to mention the saving in the reduction of wages and salaries, and the increase of the State's wealth from the augmented production of her 100,000 paupers.

Some illustrations of the effect of this administrative extravagance upon land values can be taken from the experience of the English poor-law prior to 1834. This law, by the indiscriminate nature of its charity and the unlimited taxation imposed to carry it out, had created a veritable paradise for the poor. The mere fact of want was sufficient to

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secure aid; and this aid was construed as a right which could be enforced by the law. The Report of the Poor Law Commissioners appointed in 1832 shows what the effect of this policy was upon property and the poor alike. There is scarcely any publication in existence that is so suggestive of the real consequences that must attend a sentimental socialism. One might almost ransack the annals of history in vain for so demoralizing an experiment as that law had been. That Report shows that nothing was done by a sentimental public to restrain the increase of paupers, or to protect the rights of property. Taxes were imposed to meet every case of want, and a premium placed upon idleness; while thrift and honesty had to contend, at uneven odds, against laziness. The result was that land depreciated in value until in many cases the poor-rates absorbed all, or nearly all, the rents, and farms went out of cultivation.

The Report says:—

"In the parish of Cholesbury, the population of which has been almost stationary since 1801, in which, within the memory of persons now living, the rates were only £10 11s. ($53) a year, and only one person received the relief, the sum raised for the relief of the poor rose from £99 4s. ($496) a year in 1816 to £150 5s. ($751) in 1831; and in 1832, when it was proceeding at the rate of £367 ($1,835) a year, suddenly ceased in consequence of the impossibility to continue its collection; the landlords having given up their rents, the farmers their tenancies, and the clergyman his glebe and tithes. The clergyman, Mr. Jeston, states that in October, 1832, the parish officers threw up their books, and the poor assembled before his door while he was in bed, asking for advice and food. Partly from his own small means, partly from the charity of neighbors, and partly by rates in aid imposed on the neighboring parishes, they were for some time supported. In Cholesbury, therefore, the expense of maintaining the poor has not only swallowed up the whole value of the land, but it requires even the assistance for two years of rates in aid from other parishes to enable the able-bodied, after the land has been given up to them, to support themselves; and the aged and impotent must even then remain a burden on the neighboring parishes.

In Wigston Magna, in 1832, the value of property has fallen one-half since 1820, and is not saleable even at that reduction. In Leicestershire the poor-rate exceeds £1 ($5) an acre and is rapidly increasing; and a general opinion prevails that the day is not distant when rent will cease altogether. In Lenham, Kent, a farm of forty-two acres of good land, tithe-free and well situated, was thrown up by the tenant because the poor-rate amounted to £300 ($1,500) a year. In Cambridgeshire, land that produces thirty bushels of wheat per acre will not rent for anything on account of the poor-rates. Downing College has a property of 5,000 acres, and cannot obtain tenants for the same reason. In Westfield, Sussex, the annual value of the real property assessed in 1815 was £3,390 ($16,950); in 1829, it was only £1,959 ($9,795). It has undoubtedly fallen in value since the last valuation, *i. e.*, in the last two years; and the population has been more than trebled in 30 years. In 1801, it was 306; in 1811, it was 707; in 1821, it was 897;

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and in 1831, it was 938, and that in spite of an emigration of considerable amount, at the parish expense, in 1829. The eighteen-penny children will eat up this parish in ten years more, unless some relief be afforded."

These are sufficiently ominous examples of the effect of taxation for poor-relief upon the value of property. Things, of course, have not yet reached so bad a pass in this country; but they may very soon reach it, if the present policy continue unchecked. Similar quotations to the above could be made to show the effect upon the number of paupers created by the law, and its influence upon the rate of wages; but there is not space for this. My main object will be accomplished if the figures I have given shall awaken an intelligent concern for the extravagant taxation which our "penny wise, pound foolish" politicians impose upon property, and which is ignorantly endured by the population until they are ready for any revolutionary policy except the right one to secure relief. While they are sensitive to the economic facts which are a consequence of bad legislation, is the opportune time to urge the radical reform here suggested. The taxpayer can be easily shown the fatal influence of outdoor and other illegitimate relief, and, if organized in the right way, may hold the balance of power in elections.

The trouble, of course, with our degenerating institutions is to get rid of our lawmakers of the present kind. They are too much interested in postponing or escaping the day of judgment for themselves, to take up any reforms of a local kind. They may even endeavor to divert attention from the evils here considered by raising false issues; hence the work must fall to other hands.

While a goodly number of people are well enough convinced that our politicians are a combination of fools and knaves whom it were better to hang and quarter than to send to the Legislature for making laws, they are powerless to reform matters until the dense agricultural ignorance on problems of taxation is removed, and property-holders are made to see that no more blackmail, in the form of taxes, is imposed to pay political debts by unwise charity. It is certainly an opportune time to agitate widely this great reform, and therewith to modify, directly or indirectly, the tendency to seek relief from taxation by disturbing the currency. Is any class of the community equal to the emergency?

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

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CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ESSAYISTS.

To those who regard the literature of a country as the reflection of its social, ethical, and intellectual evolution, the recent revival of the American essay and of the interest in it is a most interesting and significant phenomenon; though the state of mind of which it is the symptom hardly requires this added element for its clear diagnosis.

The essay implies, both on the part of those who write and on the part of those who read, the pause of reflection, the backward gaze, the philosophic mind. It is a commonplace of criticism, though it has not failed of denial from those who strain at novelty, that all literatures oscillate between creative epochs of strenuous onward effort and epochs of critical assimilation. As our intellectual life becomes more intense, these periods succeed one another at shorter intervals.

In times of confident creation the attitude toward the past is not so much iconoclastic as contemptuous. The France of Racine dismisses with a smile the France of Ronsard. Shakespeare treats the work of his predecessors as clay in his potter's hand, or as treasure trove. And in a lesser degree we can recall a time when American men of letters, flushed with the effort of war, intoxicated with the wine of science, feeling, with the *Wagner* of Goethe's "Faust," that Nature was opening to us so many doors and such new vistas that surely we should at last catch her secret, turned away from the contemplative, the analytic, and the critical to the romantic and imaginative forms of literature. But during the last decade, and perhaps somewhat earlier, there has been a noteworthy subsiding of this self-confident spirit; and with this the novelist has yielded somewhat of his dominant place to the historian and the essayist.

We are passing through the same stage of literary evolution as the French; only that with them the habit of literary criticism and self-criticism makes the tendency more marked and more easily studied. Here, as there, it might seem that for the time the minds of men had overleaped themselves; as though in this strange *fin du siècle* we were pausing in our letters and art, uncertain of the onward way, and seeking, in more acute apprehension, deeper penetration, and keener analy-

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sis of what has been and is, an answer to our perplexity of what shall be. Here, as there, originality, never absent, manifests itself too often in a studied eccentricity, and wastes its energy in a search for the novel and bizarre,—a search that is most futile when most successful.

Our literary age is a time of questioning, of criticism of ourselves and of life; and this finds expression in essays and in the fact that these essays find publishers and purchasers. Many of these essays have indeed first seen the light in the magazines and reviews; but the existence and popularity of these journals are only other evidences of the same state of mind. They have contributed very much to make this form of literary expression possible to some who might otherwise never have attempted it; and they have influenced the mode of its development both for good and ill. For, while there has never been a time since the day when George William Curtis first sat in the Easy Chair, when the essay as a criticism of life has been without noble expression in our periodical literature, yet in these latter days there has been much writing of this kind that fosters mental dissipation rather than nutrition; and many, by confining their literary diet to these peptonized articles, have lost the art of reading books that call for sustained attention.

On the other hand, it is probably to the magazine that our essays owe their new and surely more attractive form. If we contrast them in this their last estate with those of the venerable quarterly "North American" (*Quantum mutatus ab illo!*) in the palmy days of Emerson and Lowell we shall note a radical difference both in form and substance. This is due in part to consideration for the larger audience of our great magazines, and in part to the changed standard of our cultured readers, who are grown, as Chaucer would have said, "so nice of their mete" that they will no longer accept length for fulness nor heaviness for profundity. It is perhaps doubtful if they ever did. The typical critic of Lowell's "Fable," whose very old nothings pleased very old fools, "filled up the space nothing else was prepared for; and nobody read what nobody cared for." How wholly this satire has lost its point. No form of literature to-day is read with more interest, or enjoyed more keenly, by the fit company—which, though still few, is constantly growing—of those who can judge of such delights as our best essayists afford.

Perhaps none among us is making such permanent contributions to literature as Emerson or Lowell or Poe. Yet one cannot resist a suspicion that these profit a little by distance, and that as our own writers recede there may remain work done in this decade that, as criticism,

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may rank with the very best; though perhaps since the death of Curtis none can vie with Lowell in grace and correctness of style.

But the generous foison of the magazines does not satisfy our demand for literary and critical retrospect. We wish to ruminate, to chew the cud of our favorite essays; and so they are republished in increasing numbers. Within the last ten years a well-known firm, after carrying their dainty series of American essayists to its fifteenth volume, have already published five volumes of a second collection of contemporary essayists on a larger scale; and although other publishers have not gathered books of this kind into series under a collective title, a cursory examination of the chief lists indicates that the annual output of essays in volumes in America has nearly doubled in the past decade. It is with these books alone that I propose to deal; examining the work of some of the more popular or significant essayists; fixing their place in the development of critical and literary art; and, if it may be, inducing still other kindred spirits to spend their recreative hours browsing in these pleasant pastures.

Joining the old essay to the new, handing down the tradition and the inspiration that they received, are Curtis, Higginson, and Warner, whose earliest work coincided with the prime of Emerson and Lowell, and of whom two are still writing to-day, and the third has but recently passed from us. Emerson's first essays were published in 1836; Lowell's, in 1845. The former's "Letters and Social Aims" appeared in 1876; Lowell's last volume, ten years later. The essays of Curtis began to appear in 1853; Higginson's "Outdoor Papers" were collected in 1863; and Warner's "Summer in my Garden" was published in 1870. Yet in spirit all these three belong far more to the new than to the old era. Already in Curtis the essays are shorter, more immediately practical, as befitted the occupant of the Easy Chair. The three charming little volumes that have been collected from his writings show no great acumen in literary criticism. For that the time was not ripe. But whether as orator, reformer, or *raconteur*, Curtis invariably set up and steadfastly maintained the highest standard of social and political democracy. Since he comes to us from a period of confident creation, his work is never carping or negative. It resembles that of Addison more than that of any contemporary. Both are perennial types of the mellow citizen of the world.

In Mr. Higginson's work there breathes also the moral earnestness of the 'sixties. But in him the humorist is at strife with the reformer. He delights in paradox, and occasionally lets himself be clever at the

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expense of literary proportion and justice. The apparent easy familiarity of his style, the art with which he hides his art, so that his essays suggest the conversation of a brilliant but dogmatically subjective talker, mark a noteworthy step in the development of the contemporary essay. He is one of our greatest masters of pure, crisp, though somewhat acrid, English; proving that in his hands our language is, as he has himself said in a recent essay, not inferior to the French in "weapons of precision." His own work furnishes the best antidote to that vulgarity of style which he deplores. He at least possesses that "drop more of nervous fluid" that he attributes to his countrymen. He is one of the most quotable of essayists; for the stimulant acuteness of his epigrams makes them cling in the mind, as when he tells us that "timidity, not conceit, is our national foible," or that "to be really a cosmopolitan one must be at home even in one's own country."

More delicately restrained, more dispassionate than either of these, is Mr. Warner. His pungent and witty, yet wise and kindly essays revealed to us a truly French perception of beauty of form, and a new virtuosity in literary color. His early work was interpenetrated with mellow sympathy for all the pure outgoings of youth. No one has caught the American boy and girl better; no one has shown more dramatic instinct in setting a scene or in letting a story tell itself in a dry, clever, bantering, paradoxical tone which wins a smile that seldom degenerates into a laugh. In 1870, this was a new note in American humor; and it still remains the most pleasing trait of that peculiar and often meretricious product. Yet Mr. Warner's latest volume, "The Relation of Literature to Life," shows that he is capable also of sustained nobility of thought,—as when he speaks of the supreme place of the poet in the life of society, or protests against the fiction that masks itself behind a pretence of "art for art," that it may "force us to sup with unpleasant company on misery and sensuousness in tales so utterly unpleasant that we are ready to welcome any disaster as a relief, and then—the latest and finest touch of modern art—to leave the whole weltering mass in a chaos without conclusion and without possible issue." Thus Mr. Warner joins the literary critics, of whom there will be more to say presently; but his most characteristic contribution to the revival of the essay is to be sought rather in such volumes as "As We Were Saying," and "As We Go."

Another, and quite another, link with the past is John Burroughs, who, like Thoreau and Whitman, of whom he has written most appre-

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ciatively, has let nature form him into a man of letters. "Constant intercourse with bookish men and literary circles," he tells us, "would have dwarfed and killed my literary faculty. This perpetual rubbing of heads together, as in the literary clubs, seems to result in literary sterility." Absence of it has produced in Burroughs "a feminine idiosyncrasy" in both man and style. He is direct, sincere, genial, unaffected, genuine, a keen observer and a loving reporter of nature. But if he is always picturesque he is often careless in style, slovenly in rhetoric, and reckless in criticism of literary art. He is at his best out of doors, as for instance in "Riverby," or in "A Year in the Fields." The woods, the fields, air, and water are instinct to him with an ever-changing life and kaleidoscopic interest, rousing in us bookmen a delighted though futile desire to go and do likewise. No one to-day interprets better for us those gentler aspects of nature, "the beneficence and good-will of the earth," and that "constant succession of little tragedies and comedies among its inhabitants" that our student eyes are too dim to see and our ears too untutored to hear. There is indeed repetition and monotony in the essays, as there is in nature. Better than to read all his volumes is it, through the slow assimilation of one, to grow responsive to the genial author's personality, so unruffled and gentle, so simple and refreshing, that his colloquialisms and even his solecisms seem only to give us a more familiar flavor of the soil.

But our interest is naturally rather with the men of to-day and to-morrow than with those of to-day and yesterday, and among these we shall find the dominant interest is in questions of literary art. Mr. Howells, for instance, after his most successful career as a novelist, preaches his somewhat militant realism by precept as well as example in "Criticism and Fiction" and in "Impressions and Experiences." Where he touches social or economic matters, as in "The Tribulations of a Cheerful Giver,"—that so roused the ire of some modern professors of the dismal science,—his tone is pessimistic and his trumpet gives a very uncertain call. The present order satisfies him as little as it does his traveller from Altruria; but he has no social nostrum. Yet if he hesitates here, it is only that he may be the more dogmatic in literature, where even those who cannot say his shibboleth recognize a power rarely equalled by his contemporaries. Mr. Howells has the great advantage that comes from a well-defined standard and a positive æsthetic creed. This phase of his work is most significant; for it challenged answer, and so contributed essentially to the gradual clarifying of critical ideas that one notices in the younger essayists.

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Mr. Howells's "Criticism and Fiction" is most stimulating and suggestive; but his buoyant confidence in realism *à outrance*, his intolerance of all that savors of romanticism, make him a somewhat dangerous guide, except to those trained not only to read and understand, but also to weigh and consider. In this intransigent apology he declares war on all academic criticism, which seems to him to foster a petrifaction of taste and to divert men's minds from present realities to the worn-out ideals of the past. He thinks that "it is really the critic's business to classify and analyze the works of the human mind very much as the naturalist classifies the objects of his study,"—an idea that might have been suggested by Sainte-Beuve. "Then," he continues, "if the critic would confine himself to explaining how and why any specimen is irregular he would do far more for the public than he now does, though he would still be quite dispensable." But surely this is a petty and narrow view. Can it be that Mr. Howells is piqued that men still read and praise Walter Scott and Fenimore Cooper? The true critic has no shibboleth. He is neither realist nor idealist, romantic nor naturalistic. He analyzes, interprets, and enjoys literary art in all its forms, widening the appreciation of his readers by deepening their apprehension. Such criticism is less a science of classification than an art of initiation. Of course that many latter-day critics, English and American, are blind leaders, is obvious to all who can see; and what Mr. Howells says of them is in the main as true and deserved as it is keen and caustic. But we may see in France, if we will not discern the prophets in our own country, how criticism may mould a public taste that it fascinates, and maintain and upbuild a literary instinct. So long as our critics are content, as Mr. Howells would have them be, "to report, not to create, to discover principles, not to establish them," they can affect, and deserve to influence, neither an author nor his ultimate success. But recently Mr. Howells was himself made the subject of a study so fascinating and subtle that perhaps he has already seen the light, and realized that to our closing century criticism may become what Anatole France says it already is in France—the ultimate evolution of literary expression asserting for itself the place that theology has abandoned, "the last of all the literary forms, that will end by absorbing them all."

In style, Mr. Howells's essays are direct and virile; and he admires these qualities in others. There is much of the Puritan virus in his literary morals. Fiction for pleasure's sake gets short shrift from him. Our American fiction, it seems, "works from without inward," and is therefore superior to the English, which "works from within outward."

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At times Mr. Howells has the seriousness of an augur, as with temples cinct he pours his libation on the altar of fiction and utters his "Procul este, profani!" Does Mr. Howells think that because he is serious "there shall be no more cakes and ale"?

In genial contrast to the critical dogmatism of Mr. Howells is the catholic sympathy of Mr. Brander Matthews. He is always delightful and often so helpful that one finishes his four volumes of essays with regret that a stream that flows with such apparent ease should flow so sparingly. There is something indecorous, as Mr. Matthews somewhere says, in superlative commendation of the living; and it may suffice to say that the recent reading or re-reading of more than forty volumes by American critics has left the impression that no one among us is doing more than Mr. Brander Matthews to foster systematic criticism. Perhaps this is due in large part to his intimate acquaintance with those schools of French criticism that have contributed so essentially to clarify the ideas of the public, and to develop the art of fiction and of the drama in France. This has made his point of view that of a healthy cosmopolitan, thoroughly at home among all the great modern literatures, and thus provided with the sole equipment that can fit a man to elucidate the tendencies of our own. To this broad knowledge he owes, and by it he justifies, his confident Americanism. It is with no vainglorious boast that he asserts our literary independence of England; for his horizon reaches beyond Britain. He measures our achievement not by an English standard, but by the whole output of the century; and, if need be, he can judge it from the perspective of ancient art also, as in his suggestive parallel between the ancient and the modern drama. It is natural, therefore, that no one among us should insist as strongly as he on the fundamental distinction of the genres, so fatal to that vague and ephemeral impressionism that has characterized a great past of our dramatic criticism, and done so much to check the development of a native dramatic school. None among us has stated so luminously as he the functions of the critic as the guide of readers, the expositor of talent, and the discoverer of genius. But his work is not only sound. It is brilliant, witty, epigrammatic, studded with pregnant phrases that contain the quintessence of an argument, or of shrewd social observation, or of genial *blague*. These last are the flowers by the way that beckon us to the ripe fruit beyond. And one feels always that there is so much more beyond that Mr. Matthews might give us from his generous store.

More delicately polished, with something of the poet's touch, is

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Mr. Woodberry's single volume of "Studies in Literature and Life," which, as I think some reviewer said, "unifies the sentiment of our present age with the enduring spirit of art." And somewhat similar commendation might be given to the "Little Leaders" which Mr. William Morton Payne has selected from his contributions to "The Dial," that staunch upholder of high literary ideals in the West. This book, in the clear glow of its love of letters, is the most scholarly criticism that that section has yet given to us, and stands in striking contrast to Mr. Garland's nearly synchronous "Crumbling Idols," whose chief interest seems to be that it proves the need of just such a dose of hellebore as Mr. Payne administers so effectually.

But the number of persons who have published occasional volumes of essays is so great that it is possible to name but few among the more significant. One would not pass in silence, though it is impossible to discuss, the lucid and keen if somewhat patronizing "Stelligeri" of Mr. Barret Wendell, nor the light, chatty, mildly antiquarian volumes of Mr. Laurence Hutton,—a little superficial, perhaps, in scholarship, and with wit more kindly than keen. Significant, too, is the republication of Mr. Godkin's "Reflections and Comments," some of which, written a score of years ago, prove their perennial quality by their perfect adaptability to present conditions, and might have served as campaign documents in 1896. And then there are Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. William Winter, Mr. Julian Ralph, Mr. Corson, Miss Coolidge, and many others, among whom I should delight to honor Mr. Lafcadio Hearn and Mr. Henry James, if they would still suffer themselves to be reckoned as Americans. Nor must one forget the literary essays of the late Prof. Boyesen, who, with lurking philistinism and paradoxical emphasis, but always with originality and vigor, served as *fidus Achates* to Mr. Howells in a root-and-branch crusade against what they thought to be the survivals of romanticism.

Mr. Mabie's genial thoughtfulness and Miss Repplier's thoughtful playfulness invite longer notice. Both are so original, so unique; and each in a different way is so delightful. Mr. Mabie's work seems to grow steadily in interest and depth, from the outdoor musings "Under the Trees," and the first series of reflections by his "Study Fire," through the "Short Studies in Literature" and the "Essays in Literary Inspiration," to the riper wisdom of the second series of "My Study Fire" and the "Essays on Books and Culture," and on "Nature and Culture." It is in "A Word about Humor," the concluding essay in "Literary Inspiration," that Mr. Mabie seems to me to reveal most

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of his own nature. Like those other humorists of whom he speaks, he gives us "not glimpses, but views of life, not detached comments, but comprehensive interpretations."

His early volumes were divided between tributes to the influences of nature and the natural outflowings of the full mind of a ripe scholar. For he was born a man of letters, instinct with subtle thoughts, delicate fancies, and elusive graces of expression. The ease of his writing is witnessed by the recurrence of ideas and even of phrases in the earlier, and to a less degree in the later, volumes. But, as Chaucer tells his little son Louis, it is better that he should say it twice than that we should forget it once. For there is perhaps none among our essayists who suggests so deep a spiritual insight into the ethical significance of the literature of the world, none who guides with such genial, sunny hopefulness toward "the noblest conception of the range and significance of life." For optimism is the foundation of humor. All humorists seem to him optimists; and because they are optimists "humor springs up like a fountain of joy in them." His literary sympathies are sane, reverent, uplifting. A vivid perception of fundamental tendencies and vital forces in literature gives a pregnant unity to the whole body of his critical writing, which however has the defects of its qualities, subordinating consistently art to ethics, and witty, winsome lightness of touch to a noble sense of the dignity and privilege of the scholarly life. To read Mr. Mabie's robust words on criticism as an educator and interpreter, is to be upborne from our work-a-day life into an atmosphere of calm brightness where no crude surfeit reigns. One feels that this atmospheree must be that of his own personality.

In interesting contrast to the limpid depth of these critical essays is the piquant brilliancy of Miss Repplier's five volumes, in which, as someone has said, "the gospel of giving pleasure to others binds all together," and is indeed almost the sole bond of union. Miss Repplier has such a refreshing belief in the joy of life that she can write even the praises of war, and is never more delightful than when she dwells fondly on the delights of leisure or proclaims her infidelity to the gospel of work. The volumes all resemble one another in their lively satire and lambent brightness. She is throughout the genial missioner of art for art. Humor to her is its own excuse for being. She will occasionally sacrifice exactness of expression to a brilliant sarcasm; but grace, cleverness, lightness, and worldly common sense are her birthright. A very broad range of quotations suggests wide and careful reading; but perhaps she has read more than she has assimilated. One

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is constantly, and not always willingly, diverted from her own thought to that of others, of men of every race and age; and it must be confessed that the somewhat captious description of one of her earlier volumes as "potted literature" was not altogether inept. But it is a most savory *olla podrida*, never without a dominant spice of the author's individuality, and served in a style that is the very perfection of daintiness.

There is not much trace of development in her volumes. All breathe the same gentle regret of old times, the same scepticism of the naturalistic gospel, the same playful irony, and almost the same range of reading. Throughout she pleads effectively against literary shamming; and her robust honesty of judgment finds refreshing expression in "Books that have Hindered me," while her exquisite capacity for literary enjoyment can be felt in her treatment of "English Love Songs," that "in their delicate beauty endure like fragile pieces of porcelain to prove how frail a thing can bear the weight of immortality." Very significant of Miss Repplier's qualities and of her limitations is one of the "Essays in Idleness" on "Wit and Humor," especially if we contrast it with Mr. Mabie's "Word about Humor." Hers is the easier, perhaps the pleasanter, reading; but it is the play of a butterfly fancy around the flower of which Mr. Mabie is studying the root and the seed. Hers is the flashlight of wit; his the steady, subdued, yet penetrating illumination of humor. It was said of these "Essays in Idleness" that they vexed an expectant appetite. Her last volume more nearly justifies the expectation that was aroused by the first. The cleverness is maintained: but the work has a more modern tone, more actuality; and it is pleasant to see her emerge at times from the quotations behind which she is too wont to mask her thought as behind a cloud of witnesses and give us a less interrupted enjoyment of her own mind. Probably none will ever read Miss Repplier for instruction: but she affords a charming recreation for minds of gentle nurture; and her gospel of the joyous life in letters is a beneficence in this age of excrescent naturalism.

And so, as one reviews the field of American letters, one may take heart of grace to say that our development in no way lags behind that of England, that it has in it the promise of an evolution as brilliant, as varied, and perhaps more critically sound. Above all it is independent, and so is contributing an important, perhaps an essential, part to the growth of a distinctly national literature.

BENJAMIN W. WELLS.

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PAUL BOURGET.

SUAVE elegances; little barons, countesses; white-and-pink tailor-dressed blondes; swells who sport themselves with equal "sveltness" under a Palermo sun or in a London fog; dreams of deep foliage in gorgeous conservatories; soft lamps, capped by shades of supple silk; yachts, resplendent with golden ornaments, replete with luxuries of all kinds, and bright with feminine beauty of various types,—real floating strong-boxes, the property of wonderful Americans whose hearts are as rich in beautiful and delicate feelings as are their bank-accounts in redundant cyphers,—such are the personages and the surroundings Bourget loves to introduce and describe in his novels.

An intense care for *souls* seems only to have increased our author's preoccupation about *things;* and though physiology has not with him, as with the Goncourts and with Zola, encroached upon psychology, yet upholstery, dress, fashions, and "five-o'clocks" occupy a most prominent position in all his books. Thus it happens that most of Bourget's personages express their inner being more by their tastes than by their feelings; these tastes themselves being so strongly influenced by the atmosphere of frivolity surrounding them, that, freed from its pressure, their possessors might become quite different persons. We can imagine a *Noëmie Hurtrel* ("L'Irreparable"), for instance, a *Hélène Chazel* ("Un Crime d'Amour") or an *Ely de Carlsberg* ("Une Idylle tragique") entirely other than what they are, if the surplus of money and leisure which leads to their errors were taken from them—especially *Noëmie Hurtrel*, who, betrayed by a libertine, proves herself victorious over the commonly resulting deterioration of character; thus showing what elements of real individuality resided in her, could she but have freed herself from the empty frivolity of her surroundings. Bourget's heroes and heroines follow but too often the moral bent of their circumstances. This subordination of the inner personality to the outward pressure of *entourage* leads at times to strange conclusions; as in the case of *Hélène Chazel*, when she speaks admiringly to *de Querne* of her past purity: "Quand je me suis donnée à vous j'étais si pure. Je n'avais rien, rien sur ma conscience." If *Hélène Chazel*,

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the prototype of hysterical amorous fantasy, and *de Querne*, the perfection of cold-heartedness, are true representatives of modern lovers in the France of the nineteenth century, the depopulation of that country should be looked upon as a blessing. The posterity of such a couple could only be regarded as calamitous. As to *Mme. de Carlsberg*, who is introduced as a romantic type of the woman *à grandes passions*, what shall the reader infer of these *grandes passions* when, before he has reached the third chapter of the book, he discovers that she is already entering with *Hautefeuille* on her third love experience? Now, without going back to Mérimée's "Carmen," it would be a matter of difficulty to find among the fathers of romance in France one who would trust in the reader's good-will enough to beg for his interest and sympathy in favor of a lady whose *grandes passions* are as multifarious as her caprices, and who really designates as "passions" what scarcely deserve a name at once so grave and so implicitly tragic. Incoherence of character is met with in Bourget's novels not only with regard to women, but quite as commonly with his men. *De Querne*, for example, is sketched as a *roué* and a *Lovelace;* but he suddenly becomes a Vincent de Paul, and this transformation of a *Don Juan* into a henpecked lover is no less a matter of wonderment to the reader than the curious quality of the *grandes passions* of *Mme. de Carlsberg.*

Regarded in the treble character of poet, critic, and novelist, Bourget strikes me as being truer to himself as a critic—in his studies of contemporary writers, for instance—than he is as a novelist. His essays on contemporary psychology are truer to life and less characterized by contradictions than the psychology of some of his fictitious personages. The emotional world is not his natural fatherland: the world of passion comes to him rather through the imagination than through the feelings. It is in the brain-world, in the intellect proper, that he dwells more naturally. "Beauty," he writes, "is made up of lyrism, of the splendor of what the eye can see, of the magic of dreams." Dreams, power of evocation, lyrism,—three decided operations of the brain rather than of the feelings. The gift of observation itself, according to him, is but the result of the atavism of confession among Roman Catholics, the outcome of the habit of self-examination, —another brain-sport, which in his eyes has led to the knowledge of others through the study of self. This last conclusion, as to confession leading to depth of observation, appears to me dubious, inasmuch as none are assured whether the parents of Balzac, of George Sand, or of Dumas, were fast practisers of the rite. Moreover, what would become

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of all the English school of romancers—Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, George Eliot—if Protestants, who do not confess, were to be bereft of the literary gifts which, according to Bourget, confession alone can confer? Whether or not the practice of self-examination, in view of such religious act, is beneficial to the romancer's mission as an observer of humanity, remains unanswered; but that the power of observation in itself is held by Bourget as the main gift of the novelist, his works sufficiently show. With Bourget the intellectual effort is held above the impulse of natural inspiration. A man of great parts, of observation; a reproducer of what he sees, a sketcher of what he reads, far more than a sensitive philosopher who, subordinating his emotional capacities to the modification of his reason, writes the history of *lived* incidents and experienced passions,—such appears to me Bourget the novelist.

Men and women the luxury and leisure of whose social position naturally lead to a life of emptiness, are those whom Bourget chooses most frequently to depict. Vainly in all his works should we seek the study of a rural individuality such as Balzac, Mme. Sand, George Eliot, have immortalized. Let us but alter in imagination the worldly circumstances of a *Suzanne Moraines* ("Mensonges"), or an *Ely de Carlsberg*, and we at once strike at the very source of their moral life. If we suppose these ladies empty at pocket and overburdened with home duties, we at once destroy the very essence of their passion-life; as this only finds its root in the outward worldly exchange of parties and meetings, which cannot exist without an abundance of money. Every incident of the heart-life of Bourget's heroes and heroines is subservient to this or that worldly circumstance, which will bring together or tear asunder the loving couples whose reunion or separation is generally dependent upon social evolution. On the other hand what has the world to say to a *Eugénie Grandet's* feelings, to an *Adam Bede's* emotions, to an *Emma Bovary's* desires? These characters are human. They bear the stamp of no period, the fashions of no epoch. They who invented them searched for their patterns among human hearts. Bourget's personages, on the contrary, are essentially factitious; they move in an atmosphere redolent of opopanax and musk. Their emotions emanate from their brains long before they are felt by their hearts.

The social *milieu* in which Bourget's men develop is, it should be mentioned to a foreign reader, the least really French that can be imagined. Long before he wrote his "Cosmopolis" our author lived in, and inspired himself from, the rich Israelitish colony resident in

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Paris. Money, beauty, culture, are to be found in that society, and precisely in the order in which I mention them; viz., money, as the autocrat; beauty as the means to money; and culture as the servant of both—or more truly as the spice, the relish which comes in opportunely to testify to the omnipotence of money and to show how well-arranged dinners and ably managed receptions bring the pride of Horaces to composition in our days, as they did in the time of Augustus. From this very "goldy" society, where truffles pave the road to orders for paintings, and the smiles of love buy at a cheaper rate the homage of Academicians; from this particularly un-French society, where the only fatherland is wealth, has Bourget taken most of his types. As *Emma Bovary*, *Germinie Lacerteux*, or *Denise* ("Au Bonheur des Dames," by Zola) are unmistakably good or bad, yet nevertheless *true*, types; just as these personages are French, and necessarily French, so, on the other hand, *Suzanne Moraines*, *Hélène Chazel*, *Noëmie Hurtrel*, are cosmopolitanized Frenchwomen,—women who, though brought up and living in Paris, have been thrown so much among un-French elements as to lose the characteristics of their race.

"La Française est avant tout une femme de tête." I will not discuss here the question of the merits or demerits which this assertion involves: I simply state the fact. In following her reason the Frenchwoman comes to the same self-denial as often as she might do in following nobler feelings; but the basis of her character is reason. In the name of reason she marries; in the name of reason she hoards; in the name of reason she even lies. Now, reason being eminently opposed to mere sensual enjoyment, none can be farther from a *Eugénie Grandet* or a *Mme. Narueffe* than a *Hélène Chazel* or a *Noëmie Hurtrel*. Balzac's heroines, whether in the order of passion or in the order of virtue, always fight, and sometimes conquer. Bourget's heroines are mostly possessed of that Semitic indifference and *laisser aller* in the moral world which is a remnant of orientalism.

Enjoyment by all bodily means is the natural tendency of modern Jewish society, newly admitted to and intoxicated by the privileges of equality with those who, not a century ago, burned and hanged them; and from this society Bourget drew the concepts of most of his feminine types. Of the austere, mass-going, humbly dressed *grande dame française*, Bourget's novels are ignorant. Cosmopolis is his world. His mission has been to initiate the French reader into cosmopolitan Paris society. Even when his ladies seem French they are not so; in their souls, or in their habits. Bourget is a subtle psychologist;

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but the psychology he practises in most of his types is the psychology of a rather newly modified French personality. A foreigner, after reading his books, would fancy he had there approached real French society, and, being unable to reconcile in any way the outlines of Balzac's personages with those of Bourget,—the difference of time and period not accounting sufficiently for the gulf between them,—would naturally conclude either that these romancers cannot have painted personages of the same country, or that one of them is inexact.

Another peculiarity in Bourget, very suggestive of the modifications undergone by young *viveurs* of our time, is the way in which his heroes, *de Querne* and *du Prat*, for instance, turn, before ending in a vague humanitarianism, to a vague Tolstoïism,—in fact to that kind of idealistic anxiety which has come to novel-writers in France through Ibsen and the Northern school. Flaubert as well as Balzac, and Maupassant equally with Flaubert,—both being French to the core,—have introduced metaphysical suggestions in their human studies; but the psychologist of modern modified Frenchmen and Frenchwomen is, more than any other—Paul Bourget. Let the foreign reader see in him the very faithful painter of a fraction of Parisian society essentially modified by Israelitish and cosmopolitan elements; of a world which is not what the French call "la société"; of a world where wealth plays the part of birth in the Old France and of brain-power in the rising democracy. Remembering that the pleasure-mad ladies and their empty-headed and empty-hearted lovers whom Bourget portrays are illustrations only of a very small minority of what Paris can boast in the way of un-French French people, foreigners who read "Mensonges," "Un Crime d'Amour," "Une Idylle tragique," etc., run no risk of believing that *Suzanne Moraines* or *Hélène Chazel* are types of the ordinary French *bourgeoise* in good society. That there exist numbers of *Suzanne Moraines* among the best and choicest of social groups is not to be denied; but to assert that venality in gallantry is as common with a certain order of the French world as in other countries would be a great error.

The world which Bourget has mostly painted is, as I have said, very un-French: it is a world of pleasure and of pleasure only. Bourget does not dwell, like Flaubert or Balzac, among all species of humanity, among provincials and Parisians, among poor and wealthy, among nobles and burghers,—no; Bourget is the psychologist of *a* society. He very subtly, very delicately, and very powerfully paints the men and women of his country, who, by living as much as they

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can out of the sphere of their own natural surroundings, by rushing to Monte Carlo, to Cowes, to Rome, or anywhere where they may be called by their own ennui and frivolity, become as unlike their own native race as can be imagined.

Psychology proper is Bourget's best field of work; and, therefore, before considering his novels, I shall first examine his studies on his contemporaries. His "Essais de Psychologie contemporaine" are certainly among the best titles to fame of a writer whose critical faculties are far superior to his powers of imagination.

I.

Bourget is a living antithesis to Zola. Not a personage, not a situation in his books, but with Bourget it is radically in opposition to what Zola would have made of it. Zola deals mostly with the uneducated classes: Bourget's first care, on the contrary, seems to be that his heroes shall be wealthy and uncommon. Remarkable has been the success which, from the very commencement of his career, has greeted Bourget. No long fight with ill-fortune, but success from the appearance of his first verses, "La Vie inquiète," "Les Aveux," "Edel," etc. Indeed all his earlier writings met with immediate appreciation. Of the "Essais de Psychologie contemporaine," the studies of Baudelaire, of Taine, of Renan, are the best.

In his "Baudelaire" our author starts with the destruction of all the received theories about healthy or unhealthy literature. "There is no such thing as health, or the contrary, in the world of the soul," writes Bourget to the unmetaphysical observer. Our troubles, our faculties, our virtues, our vices, our sacrifices, our volitions, are mere changeful and variegated combinations,—normal *because* changeful. There exist no healthy or unhealthy loves. Why should the loves of Daphnis and Chloe be in any way healthier than the loves described by Baudelaire? An overcrowded and meanly furnished boudoir is in no wise more or less healthy than the trees under which Chloe meets her pastoral mate. In humanity health is never transferable to the psychological regions. Baudelaire appears to Bourget as *the* one who has understood and painted the ennui of his period,—the yawnings and gapings of the refined monster, due above all to the complications of modern life, the over-refinement of our tears, and the sophisticated nature of our gayeties, which have made us morally euphuists of the inner life. "C'est de la préciosité morale." Bourget's Baudelaire is

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a living and very true likeness because quite a literary one, devoid of any cantish *redites* about Baudelaire the man.

Our author's taste for wealthy society betrays itself in an aristocratical preference, which makes Renan dear to him above all others; for Renan is an enemy to the illiterate. With regard to Renan's exegetic performances, Bourget disclaims any enthusiasm. Faith to him is and must remain simple and childlike. Renan's dazzling rhetoric is too literary; meaning by that, perhaps, rather unevangelical. But then, Renan is such a writer! And style is in itself an aristocracy.

Whatever the gap between Baudelaire and Renan it is not greater than the distance between the classically critical ability of a Bourget and the powerfully creative gifts of a Flaubert. Still, Bourget's admiration for the "Norman bear" is deep and sincere; and if his natural bent necessarily leads him to the cult of cleverness rather than to that of spontaneous genius, Flaubert nevertheless receives, under Bourget's pen, a treatment in no way offensive to his worshippers. Pacing his study, Châteaubriand in hand, quoting aloud whole passages of "Atala," Flaubert should have been seen. One of his favorite paragraphs was, "Among the secular oaks the dazzling moon indiscreetly reveals to the wild old shores the mysteries of nature." "Images," writes Bourget, "with Flaubert, always preceded the outlived experience." Flaubert chiefly painted from his own intellectual conceit, rather than from remembrance. Images, and sound, *i.e.*, the sonority of a written phrase, were the inspiring principles of the author of "Salammbô." "I only know," he would say, "the worth of a phrase after I have sung it to myself." This undercurrent of lyrism in Flaubert himself accounts for the dreams and aspirations with which he has imbued *Emma Bovary's* wishes. In fact lyrism is a fundamental *leit motif* in "Mme. Bovary" and in "L'Éducation sentimentale: roman d'un jeune homme." It is in the incoherence of *Moreau* and *Emma's* lyrism contrasted with the banality and commonplaceness of their surroundings that the accuracy of these studies is seen. It is the discrepancy between the inner aspirations of *Emma Bovary* and her human possibilities which causes her to become the dupe of all those empty-headed creatures whom she mistakes for men such as she would wish them to be. The justification of these ways of his heroes and heroines is to be found in Flaubert's own words. "To escape the risk of being commonplace," he writes to the Goncourts, "men of my generation went in for suicide, comrades of mine blew their brains out, hanged themselves. These over-dramatic views

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of life and death did not succeed in making me the least less selfish. Though I could have shed tears enough over fictitious miseries to fill a pond, I could remain as indifferent as a tree in the presence of real sorrows and catastrophes." Save *Frederick Moreau*, who has at times slight, very slight, touches of a *de Querne*, none of Flaubert's types at all resembles any of Bourget's. Flaubert's personages are over-thinkers: they die by living their thoughts. St. Anthony dies of too much thought and love for his Christ: *Emma Bovary* dies of living her divers dreams and her thoughts. And one of the best scenes portraying this over-activity of mind is depicted in the passage quoted by Bourget from "Madame Bovary," where the heads of husband and wife, though meeting together on the pillow, wander so far from each other in their imagination. *Charles Bovary* dreamed he was listening to the breath of his child. He loved to think of her,—how she would grow and develop. *Emma* imagined she was tearing away at the gallop of four vigorous horses, hurrying on toward a country whence they would never return,—her lover, and herself. The quotation is not only humoristic, as showing the discrepancy between the grandiloquent dreams of *Emma* and the homely realities of her surroundings, but it evidences the existence in Flaubert himself of that untiring activity of mind with which he endows the personages of his invention. Style was Flaubert's tormentor; and, though he has not said of himself what Edmond de Goncourt said of Jules, "He died of style," still style was his constant preoccupation. He touched and retouched, arranged, altered, and would work whole nights hunting after perfection. "The word and the thought," would he often repeat, "are one; the thought is not outside the word: it is as inseparable from it as the word is inseparable from the phrase."

If Flaubert's personages think more than they act; if with them speculation destroys action, with Bourget the reverse is often the case. Had *Noëmie Hurtrel*, for instance, applied more of her meditative faculties to her own personal case, she would not have been driven to despair and suicide. The same with *du Prat*. Both are victims to absence of thought: they are mastered by events because they follow them with the impulse of their natures.

Taine appears to Bourget only as the philosopher. Of Taine the historian, the critic, the initiator of foreign thought in France, Bourget makes utter neglect. The philosophical principles of Taine and Bourget in regard to literature, however, are as contradictory as the methods of Zola and Bourget in novel-writing. Bourget is a decided separatist,—

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one who, like Descartes, entirely separates in humanity the promptings of the person and the suggestions of the soul. In the same being, according to Bourget, are two distinct impulses,—and not only distinct, but opposed,—the promptings of the spiritual being, and the promptings of the bodily being; seldom meeting toward the same conclusions. Taine's views, on the contrary, go to affirm that man is the result of a climate, of a group, of a pressure of ideas, of an atmosphere moral and real. Minutiæ is the characteristic of Bourget's philosophy and psychology; minutiæ to a defect; minutiæ about which Beyle would have certainly applied his remark, "La minutie en psychologie peut aller trop loin, lorsque, par exemple, elle transforme en hommes de simples manches à sabres!"

A "tonified" Baudelaire, a Renan freed from all anti-religious aggressiveness, a lion-like Flaubert in search of perfection, a softened, tender Beyle,[1]—such are the modifications that Bourget's delicate and subtle psychology has imposed upon the well-known writers whom he has studied. One of the excellences of these essays is their comprehensiveness. In all his models Bourget has shirked nothing. He has taken account of all contingencies; of the heart qualities and gifts as much as of the brain gifts. He writes:—

"There exist souls of election with whom the development of the mind and of the intellect is in no way detrimental to the full swing in them of the life of passion as well. In such natures, cerebral fever and creative powers are but an addition to the fermentations of natural normal life. The capacity of such natures for affection and love is increased instead of being destroyed by reason of their consciousness."

As Bourget's novel, "Le Disciple," is rather a work of pure dissective psychology than a romance of passion, it will find its natural place here, immediately after the psychological sketches, and before his other novels.

II.

The theme of "Le Disciple,"—well characterized "the diagnosis of others through the magnified study of self,"—such as it is, fastened itself upon Bourget's mind through a most tragic criminal case which happened in Algiers in the year 1889. A young man named Chambige, belonging to the French bureaucratic middle class, killed his mistress; failing afterward in his attempt to kill himself. During the

[1] Bourget's sketch of Beyle ("De Stendhal") gives quite a new and lovable aspect of the great critic.

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interval of imprisonment between his arrest and his judgment, Chambige addressed most dithyrambic letters to Bourget, charging all the contemporaneous novel-writers with having instigated his crime by the spirit of pessimism prevalent in the modern literature of fiction. The verdict on Chambige was one of "irresponsibility"; and, shortly after this true and terrible case, appeared "Le Disciple." *Robert Greslou*, the "disciple," is the acme and essence of the egotist. The vaguest movement of his own lungs is to *Greslou* a matter of the intensest significance. He has kept a journal on his every palpitation since his childhood. He writes:—

"At the age of twelve my faculties of observation were such, that one of my dearest wishes was to be in possession of the opinion my mother had formed of me. I wished to compare what I really was with what was thought of me. I waited for the occasion; and one day I listened to my mother's estimation of myself in a conversation with a friend of hers. The conclusion I drew from that day forward was, that between what I was and what she thought me to be there existed no more likeness than between my real visage and the reflection of it in a colored looking-glass."

Robert Greslou, an obscure professor, recriminates against the whole world; and, knowing no limits to his aspirations, he considers himself frustrated in all his desires simply because he fails in the satisfaction of his ambition. "Le Psychologie de Dieu," a book written by one *Prof. Sixte*, who, under Bourget's pen, represents the modern pessimistic doctrinarian, has made *Greslou* the passionate "disciple" of *Sixte*. This book is one of pure speculation, the Professor being essentially one of those innocent scientists after the fashion of Jean Paul Richter's *Maria Hilf*—innocent but dangerous. He plays with the most intricate cobwebs of moral life, quite unconscious of the perturbations his conclusions—born of speculation purely—may induce if transported from dreamland into real life. In this book, which theorizes on the passions generally, *Greslou* discovers elements which he resolves upon applying in his own life,—methods, so to say, indifferent or curious, and, speculatively speaking, in both cases harmless; whereas, ripened and working in an over-excited brain and a discontented mind, they may become nefarious, if from the world of speculation they are transferred to the world of action. *Greslou* becomes tutor in the household of the *Marquis de Jussat-Raudon*, where he promptly decides upon playing to *Charlotte*, the daughter of his patron, the part *St. Preux* played toward *Heloïse* in the work of Rousseau. His success is followed by both their deaths, for *Charlotte* poisons herself and *Greslou* is shot dead by her brother.

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"Le Disciple" is not only an implicit satire upon the danger of philosophers writing platonically upon passions unlived by them; but it also shows what havoc pessimistic doctrines of any kind may make among discontented souls. Love of self, carried to morbidity and crime, is the essence of "Le Disciple." Preoccupation of self, carried almost to monomania, forms the basis of *Noëmie Hurtrel*. With *Noëmie*, also, despair takes the place of remorse; but *Noëmie* was sufficiently armed by Bourget: she had brains and moral energy enough to rise by a strong effort of will above the unique and deleterious contemplation of *ego* which absorbs her very essence. False sensitiveness, taking the form of a sustained worship of "I," is the "case" of *Noëmie Hurtrel*; and such cases are common with our author. So common, indeed, that almost all his personages are moral cases;—*de Querne*, whose case is such absence of feeling that he cannot love; *Mme. de Carlsberg*, whose case is impossibility of fidelity in her affections; *Chazel*, whose case is such utter trust in those particularly who betray him that it is akin to lack of penetration. *Noëmie Hurtrel's* error of losing herself in over-meditation upon her own destiny prevents her from any useful undertaking. She leads a fruitless life, through the impossibility of tearing herself from herself.

III.

The brain, I repeat, is with Bourget the main dwelling of all the concepts of his heroes and heroines. Consequently the loves of these personages are oftener loves of the imagination than of the heart. "Un Crime d'Amour," which might as appropriately be entitled "Lack of Love," is the story of an artificial brain-love on the part of the hero, of a headlong caprice on the part of the heroine. "La Terre promise" tells of a little girl who will only know real love long after she has outlived the mild schoolgirl tale she hears at first. "Une Idylle tragique" is the story of a neurasthenic lady in search of passion through divers essays of dreamy fancies. The case of *Hélène Chazel* in "Un Crime d'Amour," as cases go, is far from being a new one: it is the hackneyed narrative of the husband's best friend alienating the wife. The only novelty in the matter is the descriptive mania of Bourget,—his dwelling upon screens, lamp-shades, bookcases, carpets, upholstery of every known kind, long after the reader is entitled to expect that the portrait of the heroes should replace the sketch of things belonging to the surrounding frame. If the errors of moral insight which abound in "Un Crime d'Amour" happened only to *Hélène* and *de Querne*, love might justify

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them; but *Robert Greslou*, *Mme. de Carlsberg*, *Hautefeuille*, err in the same way with regard to their own inner status. Is this then the error of the author himself? Or do the falsified views of the characters of his imagination impose their own crooked conclusions on the novelist? It is easier in such matters to estimate results than to perceive causes. The results of these strange morals are for women to betray the most trusting husbands, believing themselves angels, and for *Lovelaces* to turn to Vincents de Paul. Unexpectedly strange and curiously unsound, to say the least! A beautiful feeling of humanitarian sympathy gleams through "Un Crime d'Amour" toward the close, however, making it end more pathetically than it began. *De Querne*, speculating on the difficulties which exist for the philosopher who would rest assured that the explanation of earthly life is to be given in Paradise, and on the emptiness of man's destiny when deprived of future rewards, concludes that the solidarity of misery is in itself a sufficient cause for man to brace himself to the short-lived and dolorous effort of living. *Noëmie Hurtrel*, in "L'Irreparable," is again a variety of *de Querne*, in so far that the key of her nature is a morbid brooding over a tragic event of which she has been the victim.

An impulsive, unconscious creature is *Noëmie*,—unconscious, at least, of any effort to rise above the events which assail her; and though Bourget has at first shown her to the reader as a woman of culture and intellectual aspirations, his opinion of her species is so willingly, so purposely, a misestimating one, that he endows her with no wish to abstract herself from self-absorption either by study or by humanitarian deeds of any sort. We are informed by the author that *Noëmie Hurtrel* is one of those modern dabblers in philosophy who meddle in Schopenhauer and Kant, in the subjective and the objective; one of those who read, perhaps, rather than assimilate, and whose only wish, if they do assimilate, is to re-talk what they have absorbed. Though the woman who should cure a heartsore with an application of Plato would be very unwomanly indeed if she proceeded thus in the acute period of her trouble, yet a woman whose mind is at all developed, as Bourget insists in telling us *Noëmie Hurtrel's* was, might at least make an effort of some kind. The self-abandonment of *Noëmie* can only be accounted for by the ineffaceable trace in her heart of the injury inflicted on her at her start in life. She has been weakened gradually through the passing years by the remembrance of a slur. She would have confessed to *Lord Wadham* and poured out all her heart into his; but *Lord Wadham* has no such element as a heart in

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him, and *Noëmie* is thrown back upon herself, till, hypnotized by her fixed idea and unable to battle any more, she walks out of existence. "Morte pour rien" is the best epitome of the whole drama,—"died uselessly," as she had lived uselessly. More religious or more frivolous, *Noëmie* would have reconquered herself, as *Henriette Scilly* and *Ely de Carlsberg* did,—the one through the nobility of her unbending and rather childish dignity; the other through her love of the world.

Henriette Scilly, however, rises to the complete sacrifice of self by intense religious feeling. She has gone to Palermo with her mother and her future husband, *Francis Nayrac*, when, on an unlucky day, *Pauline Raffraye* projects herself on *Henriette's* horizon. This lady is accompanied by a little girl of about ten years, the daughter of *Francis Nayrac* and *Pauline* in past years. *Henriette* speaks to the child; and the guardedness of the child's answers, as well as some secret instinct, prompts *Henriette* to guess that there exists some bond between *Nayrac* and the child's mother. Meanwhile *Pauline* dies. The old and much-used system of hearing through open doors serves *Henriette*. She hears a prolonged explanation between her mother and *Nayrac*, and perceives that the discussion turns upon the adoption by *Nayrac* of the little girl. *Henriette* at once resolves upon giving up her marriage; thus sacrificing herself, and leaving the father entirely to his duties. She refuses to hear any of *Nayrac's* prayers. Occasions to express himself pessimistically about women are almost as dear to Bourget as to Dumas *fils*. Traitoresses and false women abound in his books. However this may be, *Henriette Scilly's* sacrifice is such that, though the reader is not led to believe in any possibility of relenting on her part, yet it may be inferred that as time passes she will some day think of father and child and, perhaps, alter her decision.

"La Terre promise" is a mild book. It holds in Bourget's works about the same place as the "Rêve" holds in Zola's. It is a book of courtship to the Académie, written in a widely different order of thought from "Une Idylle tragique," for instance. The evolution from a *Suzanne Moraines* to the heroine of "Notre Cœur" is rich in varieties of types. At Bourget's starting-point his heroes are mostly pleasure-seeking men and women. *Suzanne Moraines* is a modern *Manon Lescaut* without the generous heart of her prototype.

His journey to America has marked in Bourget a new era. Till then the saddest sides of the society of all great cities are exploited by our author: venality, adultery, lying, and dishonesty of every kind are his favorite themes. In *Ely de Carlsberg*, at least, we are brought

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face to face with a disinterested, but certainly very changeful, heart; for, in the space of a very few chapters, we see her love three different men. At the beginning of the book she has already loved *Olivier du Prat*, married the *Archduke*, and begun her liaison with *Pierre Hautefeuille*. *Ely* is a victim to her tyrannic *Archduke*,—an archduke of the modern pattern, a scientist with a laboratory and a young secretary who receives for all his work nought but ill words and hard dealings. *Ely* has met *Olivier du Prat* at Rome; and *Olivier* has since married. Now he has come to Monte Carlo, where he meets *Pierre Hautefeuille*, his former college chum. Hearing of *Hautefeuille's* success with *Mme. de Carlsberg* he grows restless, and, after various attempts at reinstating his friendship with *Pierre*, finally abandons himself to the return of his love for *Ely*, going so far as to introduce himself one night into the *Archduke's* garden. The *Archduke*, who is more despotic than jealous, discovers him, his *aide* shoots at haphazard, and *Olivier* falls dead. Henceforward *Hautefeuille* and *Mme. de Carlsberg* are forever divided by *Olivier's* death. All around *Mme. de Carlsberg* in this book are grouped most humoristic sketches,—*Fregoso*, the Genoese owner of a beautiful gallery, for instance; *Marsh*, the American, and his niece *Flossie*. *Marsh* is a sentimental millionaire whose yacht contains a chapel dedicated to the memory of a deceased daughter of his, a girl of seventeen. Her marble statue is the object on his part of a cult, and to this holy room none are admitted save in the attitude of prayer. The amalgam in *Richard Marsh* of money, love, generous chivalry, gaudiness, and simplicity; the diverse moods in which he alternately treats those whom he helps as a tribe of paupers, or with delicacy seeks the means of being to them a providence;—these contradictions in his character, the natural results of a lack of the polish which education gives and which fails the self-made nabob, are most carefully depicted by Bourget; cosmopolitanism, as I have already said, being his most distinctive feature.

The women of Bourget's novels are mostly captivating conversationalists,—because Bourget himself is the talker,—but their brains never react upon their doings. All are, more or less, as empty of purpose as poor *Noëmie Hurtrel*, though all do not go to the same extremes. A reëdition of *Noëmie* is to be found in "Deuxième Amour," though this time the victim, *Claire*, executes her heart, while remaining alive. *Claire* has been married very young to a man whom she discovers to be a thief. Her horror of him combined with her love for another causes her to elope with *Gerard*. A short experience of

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Gerard, however, dispels all illusions from *Claire*. This one is not a thief; but he lacks delicacy of feeling, which she finds at last in a friend of *Gerard*, whom she loves for himself, not with the wish of getting away from such a low character as her husband. This love, however, she renounces, and *Elie*, receiving the letter in which she announces that he will never see her again, states that he now knows "ce que c'est qu'un grand amour,"—that great loves are great, fruitful tortures, through which souls rise to their highest levels. Among "Profils perdus" let us mark also the Russian doctoress. "She would accept my compliments and *empressements* with her placid, masculine look; her speeches upon love, death, maternity, and all other subjects were of the coarsest materialism; and, as one listened to her, one felt her very hand was virgin of a man's kiss." In fact, a rather neurasthenic humanity in search of duality of feeling,—a humanity preoccupied with the study of its soul through the medium of its intellect, and in counting the pulsations of its brain. Such is the humanity Bourget shows us. It may well be said of our novelist that he is innocent of the creation of a single simple nature.

IV.

Whether sophisticated and complicated through the multiplicity of their contradictory feelings or through the pursuit of making apparent their inner life, Bourget's creatures are never simple. They are not simple because in them effects do not follow causes in a normal, natural way. Love, generous love, great love, is full blown in Bourget's heroines. Yet the heart, instead of following the bent of self-forgetfulness, which is the effect of real love, goes farther and farther on the road of selfishness; and the anomaly is seen throughout Bourget's books of a nature at once generous in its feelings and egotistical in its life. The men and women we read of in Bourget's novels are morally so deficient that their will never interferes to help them in the hour of need, —cold, reasoning, pleasure-seekers, snobs, creatures in whom even instinct seems a product of the brain, so factitious and unnatural are they.

As to Bourget's attempts at cynicism, they are very mild indeed. He, however, seems to believe no one ever tied together such astoundingly contradictory assertions as that, for instance, in "Cruelle Énigme," that the man who had worshipped a woman for her purity was held to her next by the lowest resources of sensuality! "The wildest physical desires may be felt simultaneously with the sincerest contempt." What is there so new in all this? Above all, what, criti-

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cally speaking, is this method of proximating "physical desires" and "contempt"? Why this confusion of physiology and psychology? Most of Bourget's lovers fall to the description Renè Dorimée gives of the modern young man. "They are mostly," writes Dorimée, "poor attenuated creatures whom maternal spoiling and over-universitarian work has altogether destroyed." Zola has taken life in its whole. Maupassant has selected physiology and psychology. Bourget's principal merit is his sincerity about a certain world—a world where moral nullity is the result of over-leisure.

Bourget is in the realm of romance what Frederick Amiel is in the realm of thinkers and philosophers—a subtle, ingenious, highly gifted, but partial student of his time; rather prone, however, to what is easy and abnormal than to what is real and natural. With a wonderful dexterity of pen, a very acute, almost womanly, intuition, and a rare morbidity of grace about all his writings, it is probable that Bourget will remain more known as a critic than as a romancer.

The personages he has created will be short-lived. *De Quernes* and *Larchers* will, necessarily, be replaced by the generations of athletic men whom modern sports are developing; and as to *Mmes. Moraines*, *Chazel*, and others,—these were, after all, but refashioned *Narueffes* and *Meingens* out of Balzac's *Comédie humaine*. It may be said of Bourget, as it was of Musset, that his glass is small; but, whereas Musset filled his glass with his own soul, Bourget has filled his with souls so artificial and so factitious that they will evaporate, and of Bourget the novelist leave certainly less than of Bourget the critic.

YETTA BLAZE DE BURY.

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A.

Sans nouvelles m'indiquant que vous
dîtes me voir, je vous adresse cependant
Monsieur que j'ai enregistré à Tananarive
1° une note sur la pêche hydrobiologique
du 20 et la manière dont elle est conduite
cette pêche.
2° une note sur les travaux de conservation
(quelques modifications seront apportées par
le nouveau plan).
3° une note sur une modification aux
formations de l'intérieur:
4° une note relative à Madagascar.
5° le projet de manuel de tir de
l'artillerie de campagne (14 mars 1894)

B.

Mon cher Paul,

Quand tu te
plaignais à moi de ne
savoir que faire, je te disais
que le seul moyen de ne
jamais s'ennuyer, était
de savoir s'occuper, soit
intellectuellement, soit
manuellement. Comme tu
me demandais, avec un petit
air de doute, de te citer des
exemples de ce genre de plaisirs

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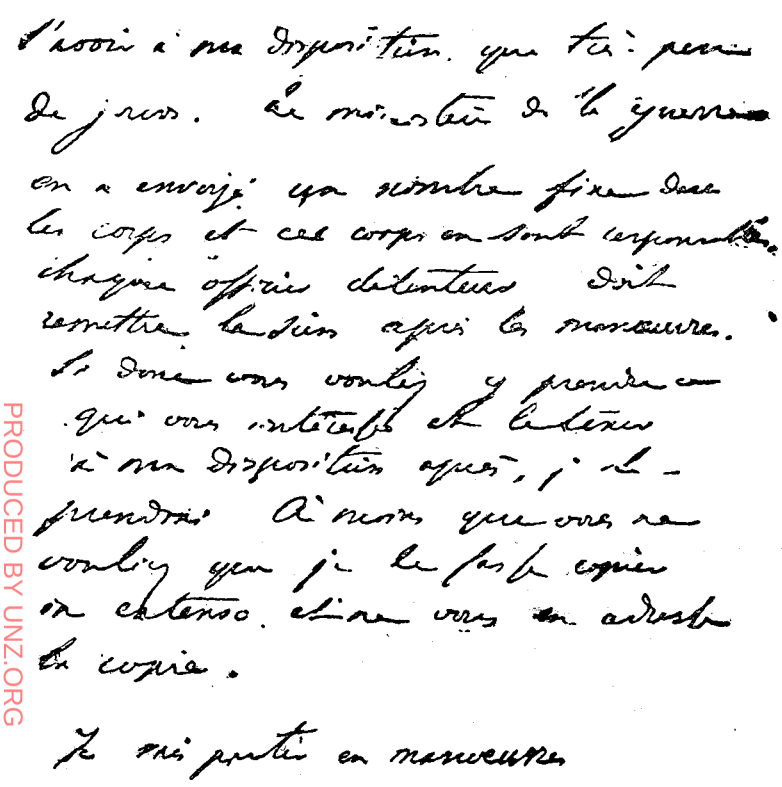
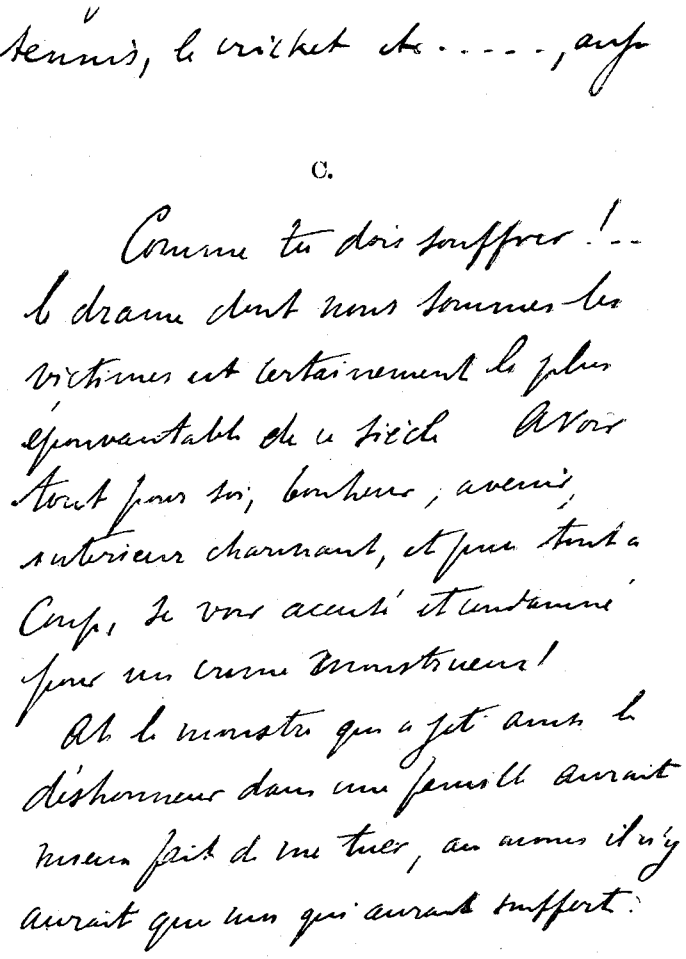


A. Text of Document attributed to Capt. Dreyfus.
B. Authentic Handwriting of Capt. Dreyfus in 1890.
C. Authentic Handwriting of Capt. Dreyfus in 1895 after his trial.



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